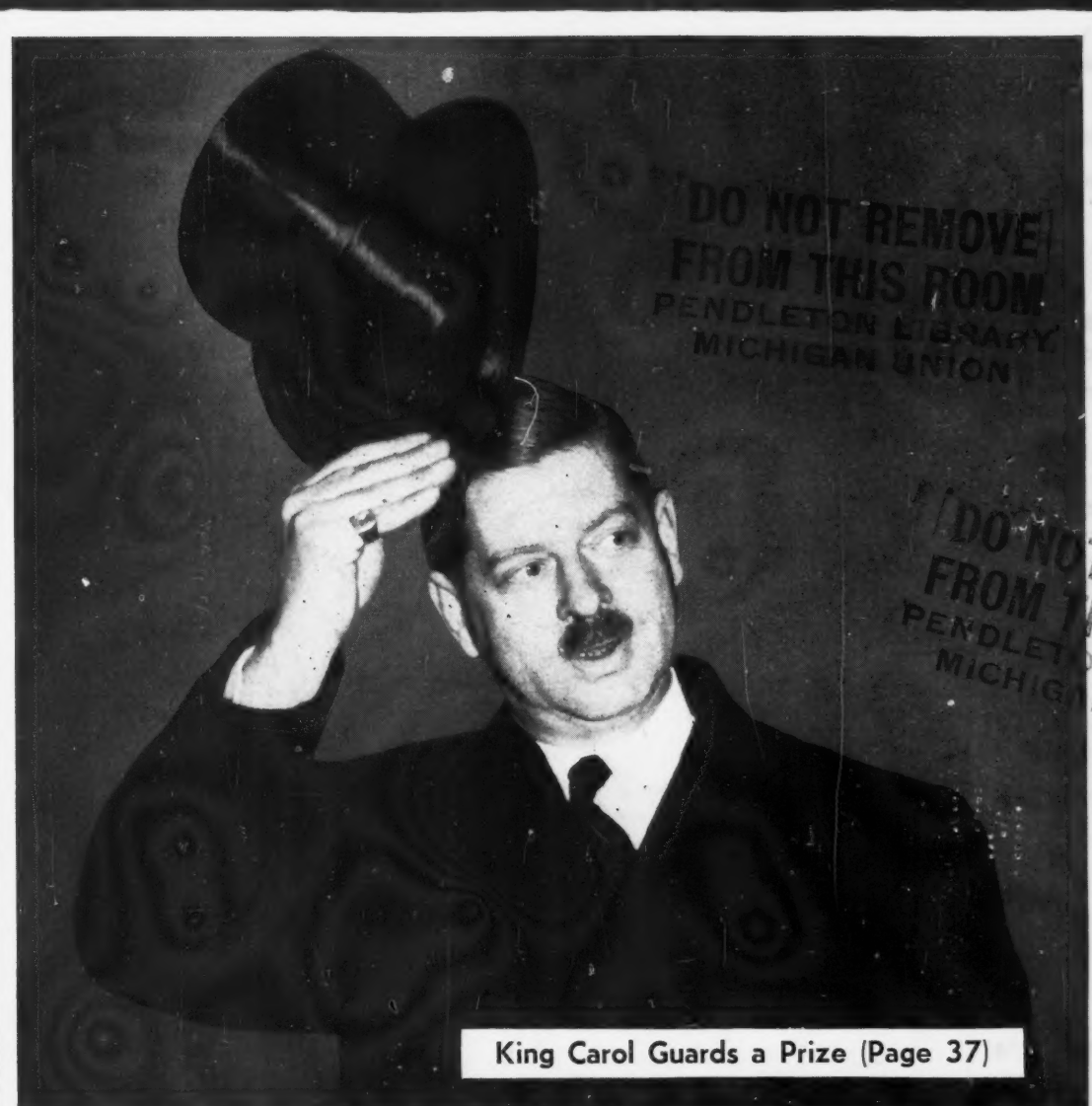


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General
July 2

THE ISSUE

● Back in 1936 **Roger Shaw** ran a nationwide ballot on the Spanish Civil War for the *Review of Reviews*. The verdict stood 3½ to 1 in favor of the Loyalists. It was a precursor of the recent Gallup poll, which showed a similar ratio. Now Barcelona has fallen, and its capture has been termed the turning-point of the long conflict. Mr. Shaw has written a resumé of the war's history, combined with a personality sketch of Generalissimo Franco, the Rebel chieftain. Mr. Shaw is a staff member of *CURRENT HISTORY*, the author of *Handbook of Revolutions*, and has lectured on Revolutionary Spain beginning the day that Alfonso abdicated his throne in 1931.

● **Louis Adamic**, a native of Yugoslavia, and now an American citizen, has become one of our leading writers and literary critics. His book, *The Native's Return*, is something of an epic, and the author takes a keen interest in activities of the foreign-born in the United States. In this number he deals with our unmannerly process of naturalization for aliens, and suggests a more dignified procedure for "signing 'em up." His observations in this connection are helpful, constructive, and fill a need. Mr. Adamic's latest book *My America*, was selected by *CURRENT HISTORY*'s Literary Advisory Board as one of the ten important books of non-fiction in 1938.

● **Carleton Beals**, who writes on the tropical Republic of Colombia, is perhaps North America's leading authority on South America. This is the first of a series by Mr. Beals on the individual nations of the "Latin" continent: data gleaned from the inside—the result of intimate contacts and many years of studious travel. The author's books on Peru, Cuba, Mexico, and Latin America in general, are well known to the Yankee reading public, and for most of us there is no adequate substitute.

● **Lewis Mumford**, philosopher, and political and social scientist, differentiates brilliantly between Fascism and democracy. He speaks for the moderate Left, and does not pull his punches. His definitions of the Hitler-Mussolini product, as contrasted to the system of ancient Athens, J. J. Rousseau, and Ben Franklin, are outstanding, clean-cut utterances which extol our civilization and bewail the loss of theirs. His book, *Technics and Civilization*, appeared in 1934, and has since that time become a standard in its broad field.

● The citizens of America never get tired of reading about the monarchists of France, and the present pretending King and Dauphin (exiled in Belgium) get their share of attention. The wild men of the French royalists are so wild—and brilliant—that their Anointed Ones are shocked and repudiate them. **Robert Strausz-Hupé**, an Austrian with a wide international acquaintance, knows these men and writes of them firsthand. He is considered a special authority on French politics, that merry-go-round of duels, slander, and rough and tumble.

● Rayon has become a major American industry, and merits major attention. Its uses are manifold, and deserve attention. **Howard Stephenson**, a business and industrial writer, goes into it in detail. Mr. Stephenson is a former Scripps-Howard newspaper

CURRENT HISTORY

MARCH, 1939

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COVER PHOTOGRAPH FROM WIDE WORLD

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man, author of several books, and erstwhile editor of *The American Druggist*. He has written previously for *CURRENT HISTORY*. His subject matter is the only man-made textile in existence, rayon—a lusty infant which, in 1939, is celebrating its youthful 50th anniversary. If chemists have their way, shapely female limbs may soon be swathed in rayon instead of silk, the best advertisement imaginable.

● **Stuart Lillico** comes from Seattle, but has been living for many years in the Orient, where he delved into every aspect of Nipponese and Chinese life. His connections, among others, were with the *Japan Advertiser* and *China Journal*. He has written for *CURRENT HISTORY* from the Far East for seven years. This month he takes up the China-Japanese war, reviewing the war to date and providing significant military data.

● The American Northwest, as perhaps the most progressive section of the country, is

a study in itself. **Richard L. Neuberger**, of the *Portland Oregonian*, is one of its ablest interpreters. He is a frequent magazine contributor and is author of *Our Promised Land*. His current discussion of the Initiative and Referendum, as utilized in Oregon, is pessimistic but instructive. Apparently it works well on paper, but not so well in practice. Mr. Neuberger places the end before the means. Liberalism, to him, is what you do rather than how you do it.

● Albania is the land of the Mountain Eagle, and of "Kentucky" blood feuds extraordinary. **Stoyan Pribichevich**, a native of nearby Yugoslavia, describes its customs and orientations today. He is a lawyer, an adventurous observer and, like Louis Adamic, a convert to America. He has been a Foreign Policy Association expert on Central Europe, and is now writing a book on that tangled area. His American magazine articles have covered a wide range of topics.

The World Today in Books

YOU are in distinguished company if from the first you sniffed suspiciously at what has been advertised as the sweet-scented peace of Munich. Here are three authors, all of them front-line experts, who will certify your suspicions and help crystallize the conviction that what came out of Munich was not "peace for our time" but a period of knife-sharpening and muscle-bulging which would enable the participants, when ready, to stage a much more magnificently-proportioned war than they possibly could last September.

Hamilton Fish Armstrong in his *When There is No Peace*, Vera Micheles Dean in her *Europe in Retreat*, and G. E. R. Gedye in his *Betrayal in Central Europe* all lead up to this conclusion, though each of them employs a different avenue of approach. Mr. Armstrong, editor of *Foreign Affairs* and author of *We or They*, has confined his book to an account and analysis of the immediate events leading up to Munich, including an interpretation of the conference itself. Miss Dean, research director of the Foreign Policy Association, goes back to the end of the World War for an interpretative step-by-step story of Europe through Munich; and Mr. Gedye, prominent foreign correspondent of the *New York Times*, draw broad strokes of the shape of things in Central Europe in his semi-historical, semi-autobiographical work.

Of the three books, Mr. Armstrong's is perhaps the most incisive, the most direct; at least, as far as Munich is concerned. *When There is No Peace*, like his *We or They*, is a small book physically, running to about 200 pages. In substance, however, it is far from thin, for it is tightly filled with essential information. Mr. Armstrong never worries about conventional book length; he concentrates instead upon getting down every important fact or explanation in his story in the fewest possible words and with the greatest possible clarity.

Munich, says Mr. Armstrong, was an "armistice." The terms of surrender and "peace" were dictated by one man who, because he played his cards cleverly, was able to get what he wanted and even more without showing his hand. The spoil was part of the territory and virtually all of the independence of what had formerly been a sovereign nation.

How did it happen?

It happened, Mr. Armstrong says, not only because the German ruler prepared his ground thoroughly but because British and French statesmen thought and moved in the best traditions of inertia. For five years Hitler's propaganda machine deftly ground out its "magniloquent lies," paving the way in England and France for what was to follow. And when the crisis approached, Britain's statesmen floundered in their ineptitude and never quite managed to gauge its true meaning or significance. Moreover, both Britain and France were caught short in their military preparations. It all culminated in a political victory for Hitler "without parallel in modern history."

But Mr. Armstrong's conclusions occupy only a minute fraction of *When There is No Peace*, which derives its title from Jeremiah*. The

* "Saying peace, peace; when there is no peace."—Jeremiah, VI, 14.

burden of the book is concerned with an interpretative presentation of the facts surrounding the events which culminated in Munich and grew out of it. There are two main currents in the story. The first and most important concerns Germany's own preparations for what was to happen; the second concerns the outer world's and particularly Great Britain's reaction to what Germany was planning and doing. Mr. Armstrong traces both streams from their source and follows them past Munich. He analyzes the technique of Hitler and subjects Mr. Chamberlain's appeasement policy to a searching analysis.

Of considerable value is a 70-page chronology in the appendix presenting a factual day-by-day picture of the Czech-German crisis from February to October, 1938. Anyone interested in preserving a record of the most significant single event in Europe since the end of the war will not want to be without this book.

VERA MICHELES DEAN's *Europe in Retreat* covers a broader field and goes back farther than Mr. Armstrong's book. For the real beginning of the story of Munich, 1938, she goes back to the Munich of 1923 when Hitler staged his beer hall putsch and to the Versailles of 1919 when Germany was free carving game. It is her belief, and few will disagree, that Hitler and the

Books Reviewed in This Issue

BOOK	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER	PRICE
<i>When There is No Peace</i>	Hamilton Fish Armstrong	Macmillan	\$1.75
<i>Europe in Retreat</i>	Vera Micheles Dean	Knopf	2.00
<i>Betrayal in Central Europe</i>	G. E. R. Gedye	Harpers	3.50
<i>The Birth of the Oil Industry</i>	Paul H. Giddens	Macmillan	3.00
<i>Through Embassy Eyes</i>	Martha Dodd	Harcourt, Brace	3.00
<i>Far Eastern Policy of the United States</i>	A. Whitney Griswold	Harcourt, Brace	3.75
<i>A History of Europe</i>	Henri Pirenne	Norton	5.00
<i>Flight into Oblivion</i>	A. J. Hanna	Johnson	2.75
<i>175 Battles</i>	Roger Shaw	Military Service	2.00

forces he represented grew out of "tendencies" which had been at work in Europe during the post-war years. Similarly, the Munich of 1938 was merely the top note in a chord of diplomatic realignments that followed Hitler's rise to power.

Miss Dean agrees with Mr. Armstrong—in fact, gives greater emphasis to this point—that Hitler's success thus far in "remaking the map of Europe in accordance with his own grandiose architectural plans" was possible because he was able to "outplay the Western democracies at the old game of power politics." In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler generously gave the world a preview of his ambitions for Germany and effectively demonstrated a sense of bluff and bluster which, in practice, worked out just the way he thought it would. Yet leaders of the democratic states, even with these advance blueprints, were slow in formulating a line of action in dealing with him. And when they did, they played directly into his hands. In the beginning, they underestimated him, gave him concessions because they felt he could not last. At Munich, the democracies went to the other extreme: they overestimated him, gave him concessions be-

cause they thought he was invincible.

Like many of the Foreign Policy Association publications which she has a hand in directing, Miss Dean's book shows an excellent grasp of the layman's needs. It is clearly and competently written, embraces sufficient background material to enable the average reader to orient himself comfortably, and strikes a balance between interpretation and factual information. The book is topicalized for ready-reference: subdivisions of each chapter are conveniently listed on the contents pages and apply to specific facts and questions, rather than to abstract thoughts. It makes no pretense of being a one-volume history of Europe since the war, but for average purposes it gives a remarkably well-rounded picture of the essential happenings of Europe since 1919.

BOTH Mr. Armstrong and Miss Dean can disagree with what happened at Munich and remain reasonably calm. But not so G. E. R. Gedye. Dispassionate he is not. He watched the cauldron boil at first hand and came away with fire in his eyes. *Betrayal in Central Europe* is the result not only of Czecho-

slovakia's death but of the rise of Naziism in Europe. Gedye was there through it all; as foreign correspondent for the world's leading papers, he was close to the raw fibre of history. He saw first Dollfuss go, then Schuschnigg, then Benes. And now—

Now he sees, as Winston Churchill did in his message to America, the "lights of liberty going out and the stations closing down . . ." He sees people handing back without protest the things that are indispensable to their growth and culture and freedom. But, like Churchill, he still feels that something can still be done: "There is time for those to whom freedom and parliamentary government mean something to consult together . . ." Addressing his British countrymen and referring to the Chamberlain regime, he says, too, that "there is still time for the overthrow of this pre-Fascist regime before it achieves full totalitarianism—but only just time."

Gedye's purpose in writing this book was not merely to add to the imposing number of journalistic autobiographies published during the last few years. He does not want people to read the story of his experiences as a European correspondent these last turbulent years

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merely because it may be interesting and exciting reading—which it is—but because he has an urgent message. He wants you to feel as he does, after having spent twenty years close to the coils of history, that it is impossible to be dispassionate about Fascism—even if it may be "over there" with an ocean as an intervening cushion. He wants you to realize that it can happen here or anywhere and that the time to attempt to preserve and guarantee our liberties is now, while we still have them, not when it is too late.

N. C.

IN the spring of 1858 "Colonel" E. L. Drake, ex-steamboat clerk, ex-farmer, ex-express agent, arrived in the little farming village of Titusville in western Pennsylvania. The "Colonel" was acting as agent for a Connecticut oil company, and his title had been assumed to impress the natives of Titusville. The greasy, smelly appearance of the stream that meandered around Titusville had long appeared on maps as Oil Creek; but the natives were astonished when Drake proposed to drill for oil in the vicinity, drill in precisely the same fashion as one would for water.

Through fourteen discouraging months, while drillers, dubious of his sanity, failed to cooperate with him. Drake kept persistently at his job. Then, quite unexpectedly, late in August, 1859, one of "Colonel" Drake's drills struck oil. Petroleum was thus "discovered," and another great American industry was born.

Drake's discovery and the colorful decade that followed while Oil Creek was the center of the oil industry are told in *The Birth of the Oil Industry*, a detailed, scholarly book by Professor Paul H. Giddens of Allegheny College.

As Dr. Giddens shows, the existence of oil in America had been noted as early as 1627 by a French missionary who saw an oil spring near Cuba, New York. In 1814 DeWitt Clinton, who always had an eye on the main chance, had urged that petroleum be used to light the cities of the United States. But until the 1850's the economic possibilities of petroleum—save as a cure for all sorts of ailments—remained unrealized. Then the shortage of whale oil for illumination and lard oil for lubrication focussed attention upon the little-used "rock oil" as a substitute.

The heyday years of Oil Creek were vibrant with the bustling spirit of industrial pioneering; and Dr. Giddens has captured most of it in his pages.

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He tells the tragic chapters of "Colonel" Drake's later life, how his own oil holdings went dry, and how he was unable ever to find another place for himself in the industry. Drake died a poor pensioner of the State whose industry he helped so much, a man who shook the boughs that the others might gather the fruit. There were the farmers and speculators who prudently saved and reinvested their profits and settled down to live genteelly in Titusville and Oil City.

With the new industry appeared all the frantic speculation in land and oil, all the mushroom growth of rowdy towns that characterized the gold and silver rushes. Following "Colonel" Drake's discovery, all the farm land along Oil Creek was snapped up by eager speculators. In about three months a spot in the wilderness burst into Pithole City, a bustling town of 15,000. A year later oil production had fallen off, and Pithole was deserted.

By 1869, just a decade after "Colonel" Drake's discovery, the center of oil drilling activity had shifted down the Allegheny River. Within a generation the birthplace of the industry was but a pigmy compared with the great new areas in Texas and Oklahoma. But along Oil Creek in those ten years was formed the pattern for oil booms and the oil industry in these later days.

Ida M. Tarbell, author of that classic account of the industry, *The History of the Standard Oil Company*, has written the introduction to Dr. Gidden's book. In about 30 pages Miss Tarbell has succinctly summarized Dr. Gidden's whole story.

R.W.

A. WHITNEY GRISWOLD'S *Far Eastern Policy of the United States* is a notable contribution to the study of Yankee diplomacy through forty stormy years.

Mr. Griswold, Assistant Professor of Government and International Relations at Yale, is a studious researcher and capable writer. His work runs to 530 pages, carefully documented and indexed, and with appendices and sources added. Starting with the annexation of the Philippines—that initial step in Republican imperialism—Mr.

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Griswold proceeds to examine the Open Door policy. Hitherto unpublished manuscript material appears in this connection, and casts new light upon our attempt to dominate trade in China. Theodore Roosevelt plays his roaring part as a world politico, and the dollar diplomacy of Taft and Knox follow (somewhat less gloriously). Then comes Woodrow Wilson, with his efforts to restrain Japan during the World War. Next is the memorable Washington Conference at which we gained naval equality with the British, and tried to stress the Open Door again. Here we thought we had boxed the Japs, but have since found out differently.

Mr. Griswold also explores oriental immigration to America, the Kellogg Pact and Stimson Doctrine, and the State Department's attitude toward China and Japan in 1931-32 and 1937-38-39. He has utilized its archives, and those of the Library of Congress. This is a volume deserving of the highest praise. It is easily the best one-volume work on the subject.

R.S.

A History of Europe, running from the breakup of the Roman Empire down to the Protestant Reformation, is the work of the late Belgian scholar, Dr. Henri Pirenne. It is social, economic, political, and religious in scope. Some 35 years of acute, careful research is packed into it, and it was written under most unusual circumstances:

Pirenne was arrested by the German invaders of Belgium in the "Verdun" year, 1916, and transported to Germany. Here he lectured in a prison camp to the largest audiences of his life: many hundreds of war-weary, mentally starved captives. His lectures were successful—so much so, that the German authorities moved him away to another place of confinement.

It was under these strange conditions, without reference books or original sources, forced even to guess at dates, that he set to work on *A History of Europe*. But he worked rapidly and sketched in East and West, the Dark Ages, the Crusades, the Renaissance, the feudal system, its manners and customs, with an all-embracing, unerring pen.

His study of the rise of the bourgeoisie and the hegemony of the Popes is especially interesting. It is appropriate that this great authority from the University of Ghent, a man of Belgium, although recognized all over Europe,

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**The VIRGINIA
QUARTERLY REVIEW**

ONE WEST RANGE
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should have told so much of the life and times of that very greatest of the Belgians, Karl de Groot, whom some call Charlemagne or Carolus Magnus. There was more to the Middle Ages than knightly chivalry and beaded priests—there were traders and tradesmen, great cities, busy cathedral builders, daring shipmasters, heretics and devil-worshippers, as well as the green-bannered hosts of Islam.

S.V.H.

WITH an attractive style that speaks her training as assistant literary editor of the *Chicago Tribune*, Martha Dodd, daughter of the distinguished historian and former ambassador to Germany, William E. Dodd, tells in *Through Embassy Eyes* of the joys and griefs that come to a quiet professor's family when it is suddenly hurled into the bustling diplomatic life of a great capital.

Miss Dodd, an average middle-class American girl, writes here of the four-and-a-half years spent by the Dodds in Berlin. She recounts with amusing detail the inevitable brushes with newspaper reporters, the problems of house hunting in a strange city, the endless rounds of dull receptions attended by hypocrites and poseurs.

It is in her accounts of the teas and parties that Miss Dodd is at her best. Through sharply perceptive feminine eyes she watched and analyzed "Putzi" Hanfstaengl, Hitler's court jester now fallen from grace, whom she describes as a "jitterbug;" Louis Ferdinand, the very American son of the German Crown Prince; the weak Crown Prince himself, his pushing wife and the sycophants who make up their little court.

Miss Dodd met Adolf Hitler once and observed him often; and her impressions illuminate the personality of the enigmatic Fuehrer. She writes of the dwarf-like Goebbels and his clever wife; of the cruel, obese Goering and his cheerful spouse; of the shrewd Dr. Schacht. She keenly analyzes the members of the press and diplomatic corps in Berlin; often her judgments differ widely from their reputations. By telling of the purge of June, 1934, simply as she watched it happen, she imparts all the terror and brutality behind that notorious episode of German history.

Miss Dodd has set out, she says, to impart to us some of her disillusionment with Germany—the contrast between the romantic, cultured Germany her father had known as a student and

(Continued on page 64)

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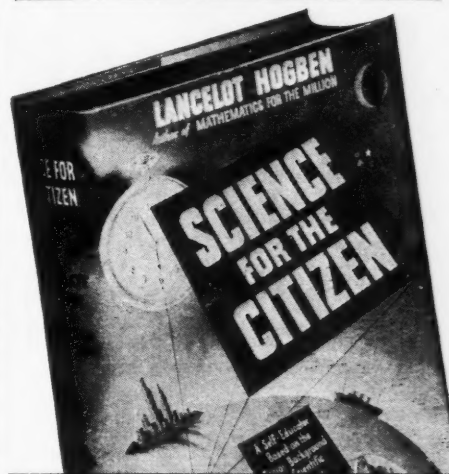
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Neutrality?

DO the American people really want to be neutral in a world which is torn by conflicting ideologies, aspirations and interests? Could they be neutral through any rigid and preconceived policy? Have they been neutral toward the factions in Spain by means of an embargo? Have they been neutral toward the Sino-Japanese conflict without an embargo? If conditions had been reversed, would they have been any more neutral in either case? Is it possible to be neutral by merely treating both sides alike?

Officially our munitions markets are open to any government at peace. Officially Italy and Germany are just as welcome to buy airplanes, tanks, gun castings, etc., as are France and England. Officially Japan has as good a right to buy implements of war as China. Officially there is no war in China because neither nation has declared war.

Regardless of the official situation, our Government appears able to find ways and means of encouraging sales to some countries while it discourages sales to others. By common report, France and England are getting considerable help from us in their rearmament program, while dictatorial states are getting little or none. This may conform to public sentiment, but it hardly squares with our official attitude. By common report, Japan has virtually been stopped from buying airplanes, while the Chinese Government gets a loan of \$25,000,000.

Such a state of affairs automatically leads to extravagant rumor, unnecessary criticism and dangerous speculation. Some people are not only wondering whether we are being manoeuvred into a position where we might be compelled to take part in a European war, but are actually asserting as much. Some people are suggesting that our pretended neutrality is simply a smoke-screen behind which a more or less definite military alliance is being forged. Some people are proclaiming that our rearmament program is being deliberately framed to help the so-called democracies against the so-called dictatorships, and many favor it for that precise reason.

What most people would like to know, however, is exactly what the Government at Washington has in mind. They have seen ambassadors called home from various countries, and they have heard the alarming reports made by those ambassadors. They have heard it said that war is virtually unavoidable and that it may occur within a short time. They have heard that tension is growing between democratic countries on the one hand and totalitarian states on the other. They have read and tried to understand the President's recommendation for greatly increased armament. They have observed how a Senate Committee was called to the White House and given information which it was requested not to divulge. Under such circumstances, they naturally conclude that things are going on about which they lack candid information and they suspect that these things might well reach a stage that would call upon them to make unusual and unforeseen sacrifices.

Now, the people of this country do not lack courage or conviction on most of the problems which plague this tortured earth. They are not afraid to undertake what may be necessary for the preservation of their government or the philosophy for which it stands. They want to be sure that the sacrifices are necessary and that the aims involved are reasonably attainable before they get too deep into the quagmire. They do not want another such unhappy experience as they had in the last World War. If they must fight, they want to know what it is about and whether they are pulling someone else's chestnuts out of the fire—not for the improvement of humanity but for the benefit of certain countries.

For this reason, they want their Government to be frank, not only with regard to its objectives but with regard to information which causes it to seek those objectives.

Mc Tracy

CURRENT HISTORY

VOL. I NO. 1

MARCH, 1939

A Month's History in the Making

THE seventh year of President Roosevelt's struggle to bring about recovery under New Deal formulae opens with increased confusion and stiffened opposition all along the line. While there is little warrant for the idea that anything approaching a coalition between Republicans and conservative Democrats exists, they are finding it easy to cooperate with regard to some of the more important questions. By working together, they were able to cut down the emergency appropriation for W. P. A. from \$875,000,000 to \$725,000,000. Although this was done with such qualifications and reservations as prevented it from being construed in the light of an out-and-out reverse for the President, it nevertheless evidenced a growing sentiment against unrestricted expenditure. Also, by working together, they have been able to block some important Presidential appointments, and there is good reason to believe that they will be able to block more.

Confirmation of Felix Frankfurter as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court; of Frank Murphy as Attorney-General; of Harry L. Hopkins as Secretary of Commerce, was voted by the Senate without serious opposition, but the appointment of Floyd H. Roberts as Federal District Judge of western Virginia was turned down by a majority of 8 to 1. Roberts' appointment goes back to last summer's campaign in which President Roosevelt undertook to reward New Deal enthusiasts on the one hand and punish those Democrats whom he regarded as too lukewarm on the other. Senators Glass and Byrd of Virginia were ignored or overruled, while Governor Price and his associates were consulted and heeded. Naturally enough, the two Senators were irritated, and when the question of confirmation came up, they mobilized their colleagues to rise and

defend what is commonly referred to as Senatorial courtesy, which means the right by custom of Senators to have a say-so in the distribution of patronage within their respective States.

Roberts' appointment can hardly be



Let the seller beware!

regarded otherwise than as part and parcel of that weird crusade by which President Roosevelt undertook to spank the Democratic Party into solid support of the New Deal. It was rejected by the Senate in practically the same proportion that his "purge" was rejected by the people—8 to 1.

A GROWING opposition to relief and allied agencies of assistance, as they have been more or less directly controlled by the White House, can also be traced in large measure to last summer's campaign. The tremendous amounts expended just before election, and the way some of the money was used, as revealed by the Shepherd Committee's report, not only gave Republicans and dissenting Democrats a splendid opportunity to find fault, but shocked the country at large.

Whatever else may be thought of it, it was a bad political move and could not result in anything except the creation of unfavorable sentiment. There always has been a minority of Democrats who doubted the wisdom of throwing their party traditions overboard for the sake of New Deal experiments. That minority has grown since the middle of last summer. In a similar way, and for similar causes, the Republican minority has been greatly increased in Congress.

The cut for W.P.A., opposition to Presidential appointments, continuance of the Dies Committee, moves to amend the Labor act, a resolution to impeach the Secretary of Labor, several bills designed to turn back a large proportion of relief to the States or local communities, and many other items, leave no doubt that Congress is in a mood to recapture certain powers which it surrendered to the executive during its orgy of New Deal enthusiasm. While last summer's campaign may have started the ball rolling in this direction, failure of the New Deal to bring about any such degree of recovery as was expected and promised can be depended on to give it speed and momentum. When all is said and done, there remains one simple fact: we have not made any such headway toward the rehabilitation of business or the re-employment of people as was hoped and predicted six years ago. On the other hand, Federal taxes have steadily increased; the Federal budget has remained unbalanced, and the Federal debt has been doubled.

The critical character of the situation may have justified all that has been done and the objectives sought may have been wholly good, but the results are disappointing—and not only results but immediate prospects.

As things now stand, the Government finds itself committed to pro-



A Very Anxious Seat

grams and measures which promise to keep the Federal budget and the Federal debt rising for several years to come. Of still greater significance, some of these programs would lead to a degree of centralized authority and paternalism that is hardly reconcilable with our political system, if carried to their ultimate and logical conclusion.

ONE thing not only leads to another, but sometimes to results that were unlooked for, even by those who sponsor the parade. Take T.V.A., for instance, which began as a nitrate plant on the Tennessee; which was tied up with flood control to make it legal; which was edged into the power business to make it pay. In the beginning, it was an emergency enterprise for national defense; then it was a fertilizer plant to help farmers; then it was a river regulator to improve navigation; then it was a power plant to be run as a yardstick for rate-making purposes; now it is on the retail side of peddling electricity. Purchase of the Commonwealth and Southern properties in Tennessee must be regarded as an almost inevitable conclusion to the various experiments that were undertaken, one after another. It leaves no doubt on one point, however, and that is that the Government of the United States has gone into the power business, and that a precedent has been set which may cause it to go into the power business in other sections in order to treat everybody alike. Confining Government power business to rivers,

dams, and reservoirs might eventually be construed as discriminatory against those sections that have to get their power from coal, oil or natural gas. In order to even things up, the Government may be driven to undertake the production and sale of electricity from such sources. Now, such a course may be justified from existing conditions, but we should not delude ourselves as to where it may lead us, and as to the effect it may have on our whole political system. It represents a fundamental change in our original traditions and concepts of the Federal Government.

A PART from those improved economic results which were so confidently predicted five or six years ago, the farm program, the labor program, and the foreign trade program have failed to bring about any such degree of peace, security and general confidence as was prophesied. A large section of labor is not satisfied with the Wagner Act, or the methods pursued by the National Labor Relations Board. A large section of farmers is equally dissatisfied with crop control. Though Secretary of State Hull has worked intelligently and persistently for better markets and more trade abroad, he has found it difficult to overcome the effect of foreign propaganda on the one hand and of domestic experimenting on the other.

Like most other countries, our own is still seriously handicapped by the curious political and economic adventures of a world which has failed to find its balance since the Great War. For twenty years and more, western civilization has suffered from a plague of New Deals which, though called by various names, represents nothing but the floundering of great masses of people who, because of their desperate situation, seek security at any price. They have surrendered nearly everything which was formerly regarded as essential to civilized life, in order to get what seemed to them a guarantee of peaceful existence. They have literally thrown themselves on the mercy of demagogues and dictators in the hope of being liberated from the chaos, confusion and alarms which followed the greatest murder-fest of modern times. They have done all this only to find themselves remobilized as cannon fodder, retrained as killers, retaxed and reoppressed to provide the necessary engines of bloodshed.

We have tried to protect ourselves from being engulfed in the maelstrom by adopting a preconceived and rigid attitude of neutrality, but only to find that there is no such thing. By being neutral, we helped the Nationalists to overthrow the Government of Spain, and Japan to conduct a more effective campaign in China. By being neutral, we have aggravated the timidity of France and England, while we have encouraged the steady advance of the dictators.

The worst of it is, we are not a neutral people. Our convictions are too firmly fixed and our ideals too firmly implanted for an indifferent and colorless attitude toward a world in the agony of transition. To mean anything, a foreign policy in this turbulent era must adjust itself to rapidly changing conditions. There is neither sense nor virtue in the contention that it is good because it is the same that it always has been, or in the notion that it can be fixed with regard to a world in turmoil, no matter what happens, and no matter how our own particular concepts and interests are affected.

Because the foreign policy we have tried to adopt is inconsistent with our character and traditions, it has failed to work as was expected. We could not, and we have not, squared it with public sentiment. Officially, our munition markets are supposed to be as open to one nation as another, but unofficially they are not. We are selling Japan scrap-iron, but not airplanes. We are selling airplanes to France and England, but we are not selling them to Italy and Germany. The plain truth is that we are not as willing to help dictators and aggressors as we are to help democracies,



Phoenix (Ariz.) Republic and Gazette
Relief Pitcher Still Waiting Around

and no Administration could get away with the idea of treating dictatorship and democracy on genuinely equal terms.

Public opinion in this country can not be stifled with respect to its foreign policy any more than it can be stifled with respect to any other policy, and there is no use trying to write into it attitudes and patterns which do not conform to public sentiment. The people of this country are quite content to see our airplanes and munitions go to France and England; they not only like the increased business it means, but they like the purpose it serves. They realize that France and England are handicapped by lack of armament, and can be intimidated because of this lack. While recognizing the right of all countries to buy arms when and where they can, the American people believe in their own right to sell to those who first apply or insist on such terms as might exclude others.

Controversy over our foreign policy, which arose because of the President's firm denial that he said what he was quoted as having said to a Senate committee, comes as a welcome interlude for just one reason: it may lead to such a clarification of our attitude as is badly needed, not only here but abroad. And abroad things are stirring, with a vengeance, from Nuremberg to Nippon, from Barcelona to Budapest.

HUNGARY, which is coming more and more into the German sphere of influence in Central Europe, has joined the Anti-Comintern pact—allegedly directed against Moscow and the Reds. The Anti-Comintern comprises Germany, Japan, Italy, and Manchukuo, as well as its new member; and Poland, Portugal, Czechoslovakia, and General Franco's Spain have been approached, among others.

This Anti-Comintern claims to be a Red-baiting agency—a sort of Fascist League of Nations—though in practice it harasses the British Empire more than the Soviet Union. If necessary, it might even claim that Stalin is an anti-Semite at heart and that Chamberlain is a Bolshevik, not to mention Winston Churchill and Sir Anthony Eden. Nevertheless, Russia has broken off relations with Hungary, claiming that the land of the Magyars has lost its independence, although Moscow continues its diplomatic ties with Hitler, Mussolini, and the Mikado.



The Balkans: An ethnological map.

Current History Map

Meanwhile, anti-Semitism daily is on the increase in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, not to mention recent pogrom riots in pro-German Mexico, which have brought the unpleasant phenomenon of persecution to the New World. Cuba has affirmed her political solidarity with the Mexicans.

But there was more bad news from the Western Hemisphere. Terrific earthquakes have shaken southern Chile, on the South American west coast, hideously damaging seven cities and reputedly killing a total set as high as 30,000. Chile, called the South American Prussia, now is experiencing a left-wing Popular Front government which has undertaken great reforms. Her new "reform" President is Pedro Aguirre Cerda, who won his office by a few hundred votes only, and hopes to hold on willynilly. The earthquake has not improved his chances, although he personally did rescue work in No Man's Land, and to good effect. Chile, with an economic depression and a population of less than five million, can ill afford Acts of God.

IN THE Third Reich there has come an important domestic "money" shift.

The Danish-American-German, Dr. Hjalmar Horace Greeley Schacht—nicknamed the German Hoover—was removed from his presidency of the Reichsbank, and has been supplanted by Dr. Walther Funk, Nazi Minister of Economics. Schacht is a conservative, a born stabilizer, and a "sound" finance man. Funk, age 48, is a radical Party member, and an expert on barter trade of all sorts. He is the emissary who used little Bulgaria as an experimental laboratory, and has since worked out the practical details which bind Central and Balkanic Europe to the German factories by silken cords of horse-trading. Last year he "purchased" Turkey with a \$65,000,000 German credit.

The 62-year-old Schacht has run the whole political gamut in his career. He was a monarchist before and during the World War. After the War he became a leftish democrat, and then a nationalist conservative. Finally he came into the Nazi camp, although he has never felt at home there. Propaganda-chief Goebbels and Police-chief Himmler have always been opposed to him. Schacht is a Freemason, and not anti-Semitic; a moderate, and never a

war-monger. He is a bosom friend of Chairman Sir Montagu Norman of the Bank of England—which has been a handy thing for Germany. It has been expected that the Reichsbank—like almost everything else in Germany—would be nationalized. Of the Nazi leaders, conservative Field Marshal Goering alone will miss the banker with the so-high collars.

THE turning-point of the Spanish civil war came when the rebels captured the loyalist capital of Barcelona. This city is the manufacturing and tax-paying center of Spain, and its now conquered Catalan province has always been the hotbed of Spanish radicalism. Catalonia under the control of General Franco is an important step toward ending the two and a half years conflict, which has demolished urban Spain from the air and killed off anywhere between one and two million noncombatants.

Strangely enough, "radical" Barcelona cheered Franco's invading Moors, Italians, and diehard Navarrese to the last echo, and Hitler's entry into Vienna last year was repeated on a somewhat smaller scale. Many loyalist prisoners joined the rebel forces and gave pursuit to their own comrades, and 20,000 Franco police began heresy-hunting and mopping-up in the disordered Catalan metropolis. Tarragona, Catalonia's second city, and Girona fell to the victorious rebels. The dispirited loyalist Parliament had been forced to meet in a dusty dungeon cellar, closely guarded and hidden away, near the friendly French frontier. Its leaders, with the remnants of the "Red" army and thousands of refugees, fled into France, where they have been more or less well received. (*Franco's Big Push* Page 15).

At least they have been better received than 25 unhappy suspects arrested in the Rumanian capital of Bucharest. This group possessed 21 flame-throwers—a military atrocity invented by Germany in the World War, and utilized by the Italians in Spain. With the flame-throwers the Rumanian conspirators proposed to destroy the Bucharest electric-light plant, municipal waterworks, postoffice, radio headquarters, and American-owned telephone building.

The incident—perhaps exaggerated in its transatlantic version—typifies the shaky Rumanian status quo. This Merry Widow state seethes with discontent, is divided between pro- and anti-Germans, and dislikes its comic

King Carol and his mistress, pudgy Magda Lupescu. Since it may mark Hitler's next push eastward, all eyes focus on the wheat fields and oil wells of this Latinic land of nearly 20 million, situated on the way to the Ukraine, the Black Sea, and the Orient. (*Rumania's Uneasy Seat*, Page 37).

THE Italian clamor for French colonies and assets continues—for Tunis, shares in the Suez Canal, the Jibuti railway to Ethiopia, Corsica, anything and everything. Prime Minister Chamberlain has travelled to Rome to "appease" Mussolini, but to no purpose apparently. Tall Foreign Minister



Lord Halifax went with him on the trip, and the British pair also visited the spiritual old Pope. (Chamberlain is a Unitarian, while Milord Halifax is very High Church of England. The Mussolinis have been agnostics for three generations at least.) Said the London jobless, by placards: "Appease the unemployed—not Benito."

Benito feasted and fiestaed the British visitors for three days, while the Roman populace cheered them. Your Italian man in the street likes Englishmen, politics aside, while he dislikes Frenchmen and Germans both. The Fascist Youth put on displays for their guests, and an announcement declared: "Britain and Italy each understands the other's viewpoint."

Significantly, the Iron Duce showed Chamberlain and Halifax his private collection of arms and armor. Photographs showed the Britishers laughing nervously as they inspected it. Meanwhile, the French have felt relieved, for they feared that the British ministers might try to "appease" Mussolini

with choice bits of the rickety French Empire. Mussolini, however, has countered by making a virtual alliance with his old enemy, Yugoslavia—a thoroughly courageous little country, highly military, and supposedly in alliance with France. This maneuver draws the two-fisted Yugoslavs into the Rome-Berlin axis—perhaps eventually into the Anti-Comintern.

HITLER's much publicized Reichstag speech was a comparatively moderate affair. He stressed colonies, trade, and the Jewish question, but failed to mention his usual bugaboo, Soviet Russia. "No nation is born to be a Have-not, and no nation is born to be a Have," he declared dramatically. Colonies, said he, were important to Germany as a source of raw materials, but were not in themselves a cause for war. "Export or die" was his key to current German economics. As to another World War, if such should occur, he added, it would go hard with the Jews of Central Europe.

In response, Chamberlain addressed Parliament and welcomed Hitler's remarks. He avoided direct mention of colonies, underlined his belief in "appeasement," and condemned "sinister ideas" at home and abroad. Meanwhile, England has continued to speed up aircraft production, and plans to decentralize the British Isles in wartime by a scheme of 12 regions under regional dictators. (*On Record*, Page 53).

IN THE Far East, Fascist Japan advertises a New Order for China, under the sway of Japanese bayonets. The New Order means, in practice, a virtual economic monopoly for Nippon in the fertile fields of the Chinese, and the end of the traditional Open Door so beloved by American and British diplomats and traders. Japan, in effect, stands for a Yellow Asia—for a Monroe Doctrine designed to keep white men out of her new commercial preserve. For Japan—like Germany—must export or die. America, England, and France all have written notes to Tokyo in protest against the New Order, but this triple threat has not worried the militarists of the Mikado, who continue to stress their new-dealing Pan-Asiatic plans. They merely tighten their grip on squint-eyed little Siam, with its sacred white elephants, and thereby think to checkmate British Singapore, if the need should arise. (*Third Phase in China*, Page 26).

Franco's Big Push

When the Generalissimo captured Barcelona, it marked the turning-point of Spain's Civil War

By ROGER SHAW

AS SOME 40,000 panic-stricken refugees last month fled from captured Barcelona and rushed over the more or less hospitable French frontier, a final rearguard action was fought. This skirmish typified the entire two and a half years of Spanish hell. For it involved on the one hand the Eleventh, Thirteenth, and Fifteenth International Brigades, composed of Americans, Central Europeans, and a few Spaniards, and on the other hand General Franco's Navarra Division, made up largely of Italians, partly of Spaniards.

"Partly of Spaniards" tells the sad story. There has dragged on a tedious international war, fought out on Spanish soil, with Germany and Italy ranged actively against a far less active Russo-French combination. Foreign Legionnaires, International Brigadiers, North Africans, North Americans, Reds, Pinks, Greens, and Blacks, all religions and anti-religions except the Buddhist: everyone has had a hand. All the newest European military apparatus has been tried out on the Spanish testing-ground—planes, guns, tactics. Between one and two million Spaniards have perished in the process, but no matter.

It started after an election, held in Spain in February, 1936. It was a comparatively honest election, and resulted in a sweeping victory for liberal and radical elements over the clerical and feudal-minded conservative parties. With a Left majority in the Cortes, or Parliament, a policy of internal reform was inaugurated, including subdivision of the great landed estates and a strict limitation of church activities, which formerly had enjoyed a wide variety of monopolies. There were riots and disorders, and persecution of monks and nuns, combined with destruction of church property.

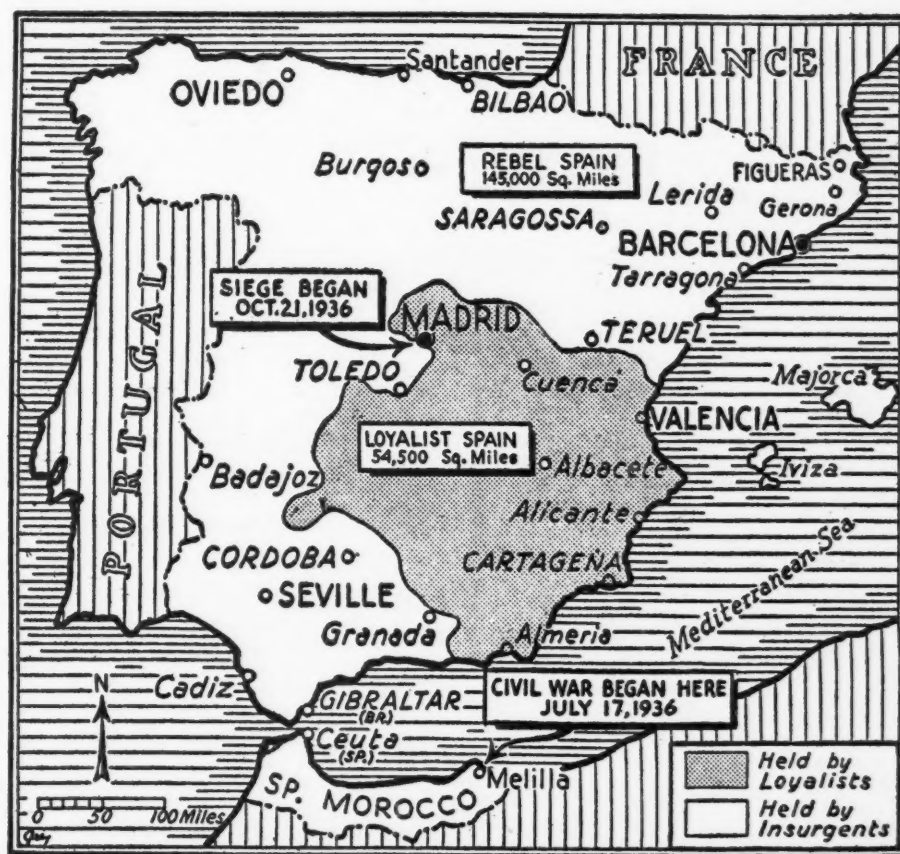
Five months after the election came civil war. In 1861 our own Southern conservatives began the American civil war after having lost an election. In 1936 Spain followed the same historical pattern. General Jose Sanjurjo was

to have been the Spanish Jeff Davis—himself an ambitious ex-Secretary of War—but Sanjurjo was killed in an airplane accident just as things were starting. General Francisco Franco, who is certainly no Robert E. Lee, took command of the rebel movement after the fatal crash which finished Sanjurjo.

Franco was in command of the Spanish Foreign Legion and Moorish auxiliaries across the straits in Spanish Morocco when he raised the initial standard of revolt on July 17, 1936. Simultaneously, the army garrisons all over Spain revolted by a prearranged plan. In Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia, and other larger cities, the loyalist populace defeated the rebel soldiers, but Franco, with his Moors and Foreign Legionnaires, crossed the straits

dramatically and occupied the cities in southern Spain: Cadiz, Huelva, Seville, Cordoba, and Granada. This sudden move gave the rebels a satisfactory toe-hold on the agitated Spanish peninsula. With Franco were the grandees, the priesthood, the army officers, most of the regular rank and file, half the navy, half the air force or more, the Nazi-type Phalanx of middle-class Spanish Fascists, and the backward peasants of Aragon and Navarre, called Requetes. All these elements did not agree by any means: the Phalanx was strongly anti-clerical, while the Requetes were very devout. The Mohammedan Moors did not care for Christianity, and the Spanish peasants (remembering their history) did not love the Moors.

From their southern bases, the



This is what was left of Loyalist Spain after the completion of Franco's drive on Barcelona and the surrounding province, Catalonia.

New York Times

rebels began to work their way northward along the friendly Portuguese frontier, and captured strategic Badajoz a month after the revolt began. By additional drives on land and sea in the extreme north, rebel troops took Irun and San Sebastian, situated near the French frontier, and began their long series of bombing air raids by peppering Madrid, Spanish capital city in the center of the country. To the southwest, following Badajoz, Franco captured Toledo, rescuing its heroic army garrison which had been besieged by the loyalists in the historic Alcazar for two months. The Toledo operation was spectacular, in that it constituted a siege within a siege: rebels besieging loyalists besieging rebels. On the strength of the Toledo triumph, Franco's military vassals made him Generalissimo, while a Cuban named General Emilio Mola became his second-in-command. The latter—a really able commander—was operating on the northern front.

Late in October, 1936, the rebels began their first great attack on Madrid, while the loyalist capital was moved over to Valencia on the east coast. The rebels actually stormed their way into the Madrid suburbs, but another "Battle of the Marne" miracle took place. The loyalist militia—mostly embattled trade-unionists—held their ground, stopped the advance, and saved the city. These hearties were reinforced by the Austro-Canadian Emil Kleber's polyglot International Brigades: doctrinaire wild men or refugee militarists; everything from Brooklyn Jews to White Russian exiles out of Paris. Their Chato or Mosca aircraft and Christie tanks were Russian-made, but mostly Spanish-operated. Red Russians in Spain were conspicuous by their absence. Commissar Voroshilov, at the Moscow War Office, would not let them go. Meanwhile, Madrid became a second Verdun—but "they" did not pass.

By the opening months of 1937, the rebels had been reinforced up to four Italian divisions of 12,000 men each. The Spanish island of Majorca became an Italian air base, and Italian General Staff members supervised operations in Spain. In February the Italians took Malaga on the south coast by a peculiarly atrocity-studded maneuver. Blame for this, however, goes to their fanatical Spanish camp-followers, full of vengeance, and not to the generally good-natured Italians. In March the Italians attacked Madrid from the north, but met with an epic defeat—

another World War Caporetto—at Guadalajara. Here, massed loyalist aircraft routed the helpless Italians, who had been packed into trucks and stuck in the Easter mud. The International Brigades mopped up.

At Guadalajara the Italians, under their General Mancini, consisted of two motorized divisions: Littorio and Third Blackshirt. They totalled 20,000 men. With them they had machine-guns, anti-aircraft guns, anti-tank guns, mortars, field artillery, mountain artillery, deadly flame-throwers, five



Generalissimo Francisco Franco

airplane sections, 60 tanks and 900 trucks. The Internationals were anti-Fascist Italians and French, with some 60 Russian tanks and an armored train. The Russian tanks (ten-tonners) were three times as big as the little Italian Fiats. The latter—baby three-tonners—were overwhelmed, and the rest is history.

In April, 1937, Franco set up a one-party totalitarian state in rebel Spain, and loyalist airplanes sank the rebel battleship *Espana* in a technically interesting bombardment. The loyalists received their sixth new Premier since the opening of the civil war, a scholarly moderate named Dr. Juan Negrin, who succeeded the very radical Largo Caballero. At the end of May, loyalist airplanes bombed the German battleship *Deutschland* at the port of Iviza in the Balearic Islands. By way of Nazi reply, five German warships shelled the Spanish port of Almeria in bloody style. Meanwhile, it was well

known that Franco was employing German technicians, agents, and experts, to supplement his Italians, Moors, Foreign Legionaries, and men of Navarre.

During the summer and fall of 1937, the rebels cleaned up the Basque country in the far north of Spain. General Mola had been killed in an airplane accident, like General Sanjurjo, but his lieutenants carried on without him. Italian aircraft proved decisive against the poorly armed and ill equipped Basque militia. Bilbao, Santander, and Gijon fell to the rebels in succession. Bilbao is the ancient Spanish steel center, industrially important, and Old English swords were often known as "bilboes." The loyalist capital was shifted again—this time from Valencia to the Catalan center of Barcelona, biggest city in Spain and a very modern industrial metropolis.

Barcelona speaks a semi-French called Catalan, contains mills and the famous Hispano-Suiza motor works, and has a population of a million and a half. It is very radical, full of Left socialists, syndicalists, anarchists, Stalinists, and Trotzkyites, all of whom quarrel among themselves. The Catalan State President, Luis Companys, was a republican moderate who had to worry about sporadic anarchist revolts during the course of the civil war. He was finally forced to crush them in a little civil war within a big civil war. The anarchists would do anything except get out and fight Franco, as Companys and Negrin learned to their cost. Meanwhile, Franco hammered Barcelona terrifically with his big bombers, killing more than 1000 civilians in a single day. "Let us give the anarchists a taste of their own bombs," laughed a rebel officer. His teammates did so, daily.

On the eastern front, Teruel changed hands three times without essential result. The loyalists bombed Seville, and one of their destroyers sank the rebel cruiser *Baleares* in a minor naval action. This was in March, 1938. In the same month the rebels started a high-pressure drive toward the east coast, in order to cut loyalist Spain in two and separate Barcelona from Valencia and Madrid. By the middle of April the drive succeeded, and the tired rebels reached the Mediterranean Sea at Vinaroz amid tremendous ballyhoo and acclaim. They now held more than two-thirds of all Spain, and the area under their control was not functioning badly. Issues in the civil war

(Continued on page 34)

The Making of Americans

Dignified rituals would enhance the naturalization of those proud immigrants about to become citizens

By LOUIS ADAMIC

My friend Bigelow, well known in the eastern city where he lives, and an American of pre-Revolutionary stock, had just served as a witness at the naturalization of his friend, Dr. Kraus, a refugee scientist from Germany. "I've never seen anything so sloppy!" Bigelow exploded. "It was like getting a liquor permit or a driver's license. No dignity. No suggestion that the citizenship which these immigrants sought had any cultural or spiritual value. I was ashamed before Dr. Kraus and within myself as an American."

"Though the courtroom was already crowded with aliens and their witnesses, attendants kept herding more in—herding is the word—arranging them in alphabetical order. To the bored-looking judge it was obviously something to get over with by lunch time. The oath of allegiance was administered by an unshaven man in a sort of rat-tat-tat manner, in a language which might have been English."

"Dr. Kraus came up. Rat-tat-tat, and we were shunted to the rear, just in time to hear a bewildered ex-alien inquire, 'When do I become a citizen?'—and the response, 'Whatsamerra wichya? You just became one!' Finally, looking at his clasped hands, the judge made a speech in a low, spiritless voice—the same speech he had delivered scores of times before, a string of hollow phrases. And so to lunch, the United States having acquired a bunch of new citizens."

"Think of it!" Bigelow went on. "To most of these people the attainment of American citizenship was a fine and glorious dream that took years to reach fulfilment. And to have that dream come to its final realization in this banal, dismal, ill-tempered display of bad manners, squalor and boredom! What I want to know is: Was this typical of naturalization in the country generally? If so, who is to

How many aliens are being naturalized annually?

What government department is in charge of naturalization?

What part do federal judges play in the process of naturalization?

How long does it take to become a United States citizen?

What is the attitude of many aliens toward the "banal, dismal, ill-tempered" ceremonial?

How many persons attended Cleveland's picnic for new citizens last Fourth of July?

What novel plan does Harold Fields, of the National League for American Citizenship, advocate for naturalization?

These questions are answered in Mr. Adamic's article.

blame—government officialdom, the courts, or you and I?"

Bigelow's experience, while not typical, is unfortunately not unique. The blame cannot be put on the Immigration and Naturalization Service, nor on the Secretary of Labor and the President, nor too severely on the courts. Naturalization is a long-neglected problem, worthy of scrutiny at a time when American citizenship is more and more precious to growing numbers of people. Despite reduced immigration, more than 150,000 aliens are being naturalized annually, and close to a million have declared their intention to seek citizenship.

The Constitution gives Congress power to "establish a uniform rule of naturalization." The basic act under which aliens now are naturalized says that "the Immigration and Naturalization Service, under the direction and control of the Secretary of Labor, shall have charge of all matters con-

cerning the naturalization of aliens." Reading on, however, we find that the act does not mean that at all.

Final naturalization procedure is by law made the "exclusive jurisdiction" of the federal courts and those state courts of record which want to assume that jurisdiction. The Secretary of Labor has no control over these courts. The judges are free to make the naturalization ceremony dignified and inspiring or hum-drum and sloppy. This legal set-up splits responsibility and is to blame for much of the haphazardness.

There are now slightly more than 200 federal courts which naturalize approximately two-thirds of the applicants for citizenship, and about 1,800 State courts which naturalize the other third. After witnessing naturalization proceedings or ceremonies lately in several courts, and comparing notes with people in various parts of the country who share my interest, I can say that of these 2,000 courts a few score are nearly everything one can desire with respect to making naturalization dignified. About a thousand, including some of the federal courts which turn out the highest number of new citizens, are so-so—at best marked by a cold business-like efficiency. The rest swing somewhere between "pretty bad" and "awful."

In most cases, the judges who permit careless naturalization procedure in their courts are not to be blamed too harshly. Many judges are overburdened with their regular duties. To nearly all of them naturalization is a side line which comes up in the midst of a crowded calendar. Some naturalize thousands yearly, and it is understandable if they look upon the nervous and nondescript aliens before them as though they were unimportant units in some mass-production process calling for brusque efficiency rather than gracious and patriotic ceremony.

When the alien decides to become a citizen he must show that he is in the country legally. Thus even before he can file his "declaration of intention" and get his "first papers" he must seek from the Naturalization Service a certificate of arrival that is issued only after careful checking of the records. His declaration of intention then is recorded in court by the clerk, largely on the say-so of the Naturalization Service.

Not less than two nor more than seven years later, the applicant can apply to the Naturalization Service for second papers. Some time after he files this petition, he and his two witnesses appear before a naturalization examiner who questions all three as to his fitness to be an American citizen. If the applicant passes this examination and is to be naturalized in a federal court, he is passed on to the so-called "designated examiner"—designated, under the law, by the judge whose time and energy do not permit him to examine carefully all applicants in person.

This examiner recommends to the court whether the applicant ought to be made a citizen. Most federal judges rely upon the examiners entirely, and on the day of naturalization the judges serve merely as a front for what has been decided weeks before. An alien recommended by a "designated examiner" becomes a citizen in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred. Actually, therefore, examiners are often more important in the making of new American citizens than are the judges. There are now about 150 of them distributed through the twenty-two naturalization districts. The great majority are excellent, well-trained men who take their jobs seriously and conduct the examinations of applicants in a conscientious, efficient manner.

THE Naturalization Service as a whole is in better shape than it ever was. But it has no control over the judges nor over the manner in which naturalization proceedings or ceremonies are conducted in courts. The extent to which an individual examiner can influence the judge depends on both of them and on all manner of circumstances in the local courthouse and the community. Examiners are urged by the central office in Washington to co-operate with the courts toward making naturalization ceremonies as dignified and beautiful as they ought to be.

The naturalization ceremony need not be wretchedly squalid, despite inadequacies of the present system. In some places it is conducted with dignity and beauty. A few years ago, for instance, Judge Robert A. Inch of the federal court in Brooklyn undertook to inaugurate more inspiring ceremonies. In this he had the active



Dr. Harold Fields, who is affiliated with the Board of Education, New York City, and who is Executive Director of the National League for American Citizenship

support of his colleagues—Judges Grover M. Moskovitz, Marcus B. Campbell, and Clarence S. Galston—who take turns with him in conducting naturalization ceremonies.

There idea was not to kill but kindle more warmly the well-nigh religious light in the eyes of many aliens as they approach naturalization. Their courtroom was large and pleasant, without unnecessary noise and the would-be citizens were considered important persons in the drama. The climax came when they were grouped by nationalities and asked to renounce allegiance to their old countries and to swear loyalty to the United States. This done, the several groups converged into one group, all Americans now, in front of the judge, who then delivered a brief address in which he went into the meanings of American citizenship, congratulated both the country and the new citizens on the step they had just taken. It was a pleasure to watch their faces.

In Cleveland I visited the federal court where Judge Paul Jones conducts the naturalization ceremony with fitting dignity. A strikingly handsome man in his lower fifties, a former football star over six feet tall, his very

presence creates an atmosphere of dignity and respect. He knows the naturalization laws as well as the examiner; and in contested or dubious cases he is solicitous of the applicant's rights and devotes time and patience to a hearing of his cause. In contrast to the cold, challenging attitude that in many a court makes the applicant feel almost like a law-breaker, Judge Jones shows kindly and democratic interest.

Cleveland is fortunate, too, in having its Citizens' Bureau, partly supported by community funds. The Bureau holds excellent courses in citizenship in a score of neighborhoods, and an annual Fourth of July picnic to give the new citizens public recognition. Last year, 5,000 attended the picnic. Mayor Burton and other prominent citizens spoke. The next day, as usual, the *Cleveland Press* issued a special edition including the rosters of the new citizens since the previous picnic and of the recent graduates of the Citizens' Bureau courses who were now available for naturalization.

A NOTEWORTHY naturalization ceremony was held last year in South Bend, Indiana, under the chairmanship of Judge Dan Pyle. The previous month, 350 aliens had been examined and sworn in; now a great, well-publicized occasion was made of giving them their final citizenship papers. One of the city's large auditoriums was jammed. The band from nearby Culver Military Academy played. Many foreign-born wore their native costumes, with representatives of each national group carrying a flag of his old country. The judge made a brief speech, outlining the progress of naturalization in St. Joseph County, of which South Bend is the seat. District Director Fred J. Schlotfeldt, of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, who had had a hand in arranging the affair, was present.

The new citizens received their documents, whereupon Colonel Ralph H. Mowbray, educator and leading citizen thereabouts, delivered an address, the keynote of which was: "We need you. You can help us. The more you feel a pride in what you have been and what you can be, the more you can contribute to your adopted country, and the more you can help make America the best country for all of us." In conclusion, while the band played a few bars of each national anthem, the foreign flags were taken to the platform and exchanged for

American flags; "The Star-Spangled Banner" was played, and the new citizens filed out amid the cheers of the community.

Elsewhere I find organizations which feel about naturalization in courts as does Judge Pyle, and try to do something about it. Here and there the American Legion, or one of the service clubs, or the local school system or public library, sponsors a dinner or reception for new citizens. In the spring of 1937, a civic group in Omaha, Nebraska, which included the local naturalization examiner, sponsored an impressive Reception for New Americans. On the printed program appeared the names of the newly naturalized. Some towns form similar committees, usually headed by the mayor, which issue to the ex-alien embossed documents welcoming them to citizenship.

All of which helps a little. Certainly all of it is well-intentioned. But all of it, also, is sporadic and haphazard.

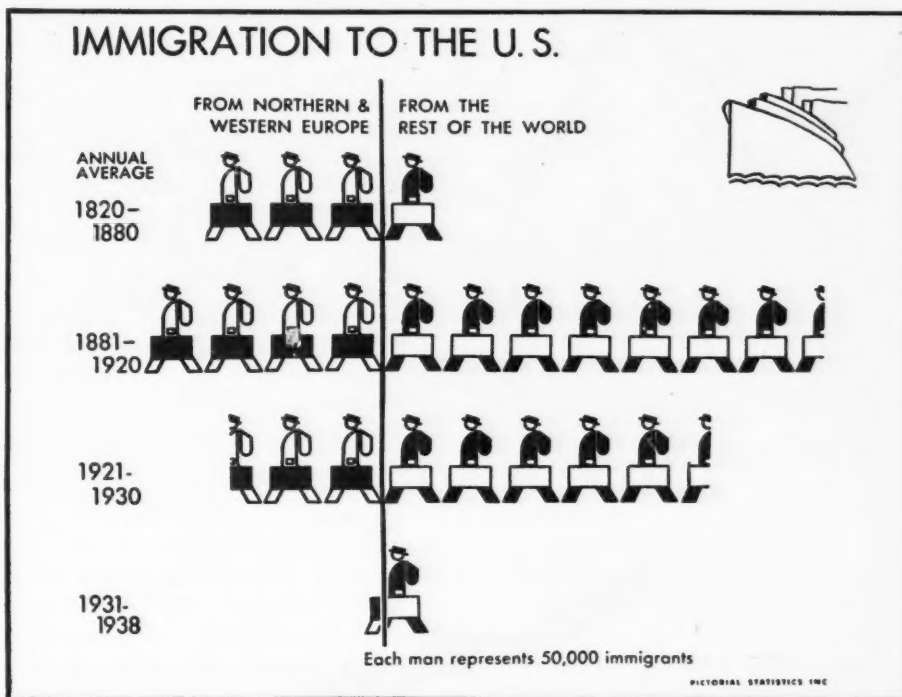
The core of the trouble unquestionably is the split of the naturalization function between the Naturalization Service and the courts. Most persons with whom I have talked in recent months, who are deeply interested in naturalization problems but are neither judges nor Naturalization Service officials, favor taking naturalization out of the courts, which now have "exclusive jurisdiction," and placing it entirely in the hands of the Naturalization Service. The most ardent advocate of this idea is Harold Fields, of the National League for American Citizenship. His plan would facilitate the uniformity in procedure that is called for by the Constitution. It would center responsibility. It would relieve the crowded courts of an extra chore and permit them to function better in their regular duties.

MR. FIELDS would create the Constitution-required uniformity, which would lead to desirable results. Now there is no uniformity, not only in court ceremonies but in the interpretation of the law by judges and in the purpose of the questions which applicants are asked. Quoting Mr. Fields: "A case involving rape was held by one judge not to have come within the province of immoral conduct"—which is a bar to naturalization under the law—"even though the crime took place within the five-year period for naturalization; in another state immoral character was con-

strued to cover a single traffic violation." The thousands of judges never meet to gain unanimity in, or compare notes on, naturalization matters. Some are poorly grounded in naturalization law, yet they frequently overrule the examiners who are experts in it.

Under the present set-up of two departments, neither subordinate to the other, there is no sense or center of responsibility for decisions. This leads to confusion. Responsibility could well be centered in the Naturalization

are interested in, and expert in, naturalization and have some idea as to the value and significance of American citizenship. They would, perhaps, be nominally attached to the Naturalization Service, but under no rigid administrative control of the Commissioner or the Secretary of Labor. Yet they would consistently cooperate with the rest of the Service toward bringing about uniformity and unanimity. Restricting themselves to judiciary or formal functions in naturalization, these judges would travel



Service with its assumption of full administrative authority in naturalization. There would be unanimity; definition of "moral conduct" and other such vital phrases would be agreed upon.

Arguments against this idea exist, though they seem to me to be weak. It is said, for example, that the courts now annul the bureaucratic character or tendencies of the naturalization examiners, tendencies common to all permanent government administrative employees and bureaus. If naturalization is taken out of the courts, it is said, it will become a bureaucratic business, shot through with petty abuses and unnecessary strictness toward the would-be citizens. Also, the very idea that mere clerks should have the power to create citizens!

Personally, I suggest that Congress might well consider the creation of well-paid naturalization judgeships—a corps of specially qualified men who

from place to place conducting the final naturalization ceremonies with impressive formality.

But there is no reason why we should tolerate the present appalling condition while a new system is being perfected. There are many organizations in this country which profess to be interested in a higher type of citizenship. Let them welcome the new citizens with a gracious and colorful ceremony that would make the bestowal of citizenship seem impressively significant. A citizen is either an asset to his country or a liability—there is no compromise status.

Most new citizens want desperately to be assets. It would be such a little thing, but it would help so much, if we could send them forth with their final papers with a feeling that they are important to us, instead of in the mood of bewildered disillusionment in which so many of them go forth now.



Colombia: Again the Good Neighbor

She veered to the Left, then to pro-Germanism,
but now seems to be back on the middle road

By CARLETON BEALS

COLOMBIA, after radical experimentation and flirtation with the totalitarian powers, is now happily back in the fold of American State Department influence, pan-Americanism, democracy, and safe investments.

Up until quite recently Colombia—whose population is fourth largest in South America, whose shore-line shelters the Panama Canal—seemed to be deliberately tying itself to the Nazi swastika. American investors have had uneasy years of late, for it seemed that Colombia was embarking upon a program of economic nationalism perilously close to that of Mexico. But four recent events have dramatized the fact that those days are definitely over.

On November 23, 1938, a pact was signed under the terms of which the United States will provide instructors for the Colombian air force and navy.

A day later Colombia broke off diplomatic relations with Germany. Following the detention of a Colombian legation secretary by the German secret police for photographing atrocities against the Jews, Minister Rafael Jaramillo left the Reich in a rage.

Even before this, Colombia had backed President Roosevelt's protest against Jewish and Catholic persecutions. Subsequently at the Lima Conference, Colombia plumped ardently for a Latin-American league and continental armed defenses under United States leadership. It backed all of Secretary Hull's proposals and set a stony face against the numerous projects that annoyed him.

Nowhere does the United States now enjoy a better press than in Colombia. Most newspapers and magazines of the official Liberal Party now in power—*El Tiempo*, *El Liberal*, *El Espectador*, *El Gráfico*, *Cosmos*, *La Razón*—joined in the chorus of praise that greeted the government's announcement of the contract for the American military missions.

What four recent events are indicative of Colombia's new friendliness toward the United States?

Is Colombia progressive or backward in social legislation?

Who owns Colombia's extensive airlines?

Who is Eduardo Santos?

Has Colombia had a peaceful or a turbulent political life?

These questions are answered in Mr. Beals' article.

The only journal to urge caution was the semi-independent *El Gráfico*, which recalled the disagreeable alienation of Panama, warned that the republics to the south were but "twenty Ibero-American horses that Uncle Sam may ride"; that "beside the [American] apostles stand the business men"; that Roosevelt is "not eternal"; and that American officeholders "of another type" likely would bring "unpleasant surprises." But, *El Gráfico* went on, as long as the good-neighbor policy prevails Colombia should go along wholeheartedly—with deeds, not merely worthless speeches in international congresses—by the side of the United States.

The only extremely sour comments on the new American military tutelage came from the Conservative Party press, largely under the thumb of feudalistic landholders and the Catholic hierarchy. *El Siglo* was most outspoken. It admitted the need for technical assistance, but argued that such missions should be brought in from countries with which Colombia has "more affinity of spirit." Italy and Germany have far better aviation facilities than the United States. Moreover, the United States is not even "first in the domination of the sea." Far worse is the danger from American culture, which consists only of teaching people

to shave, bathe and use sanitary toilets. It provides automobiles, elevators, "senseless movies," but with respect to "universal ideas," only "insufferable mediocrity." We North Americans are, it seems to *El Siglo*, enemies of the "Christianity that radiates from Rome." We represent "Luther against Christ." Our amorous and literary attitudes are compassed by Anita Loos' book, "Gentlemen Prefer Blondes."

Such divergence of opinion indicates the reality of Colombia's freedom of press and expression. In fact, compared to most of her sister Latin-American republics, Colombia is a shining light of civil liberty and free suffrage.

Good-neighborliness probably should not rest so much upon military missions as upon knowledge and understanding. But though Colombia with a population of eight and one-half million is fourth in South America, few Americans know much about it. The first mainland region settled in the New World, and the cradle of Latin-American liberty under the leadership of the great Bolivar, Colombia for centuries was the cultural leader of Latin America. Some of its institutions of learning were founded before the Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth. It has produced more than its share of the outstanding literature and scholarship of the Spanish-speaking New World; but it is doubtful whether the notable names of Mutis, Caldas, Isaacs, Silva, Rivera, Vargas Vila, Marroquín mean much to us North Americans. For the twenty-two months prior to November, 1938, the *New York Times Index* lists (aside from accounts of efforts to collect the Colombian debt) only twelve items about the country.

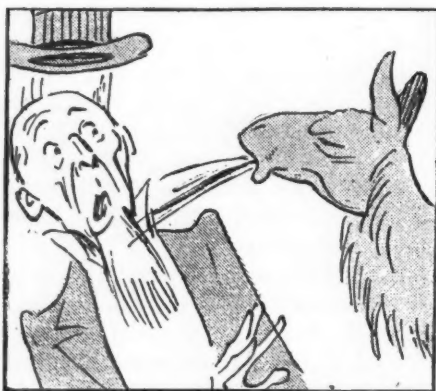
But if our interest is scant, the press of Colombia bubbles constantly about all things American. The leading daily, *El Tiempo*, owned and formerly edited by the present President, Eduardo Santos, is published in Spanish and retains a somewhat rancid English

format; otherwise it is predominantly an American newspaper. Page after page is filled with United Press news and American feature articles. Amid them are to be found Walter Lippmann's profound comments, Ripley's "Believe It or Not," a whole page of American funnies, a page and a half of ads for American (and a few Mexican) movies, many advertisements for American products.

The only persistent German advertising is that of the Hamburg-American Line, which last year introduced into the Germany-Colombia service a new crack electric-driven, air-conditioned liner, and several small ads for typewriters, office equipment, paper and cement-mixers. On rare occasions there are page write-ups of the wonders of Mussolini or the Third Reich—accounts that smack of subsidized propaganda.

In the past *El Tiempo* was sharply critical of American policies, very doubtful of the Hull reciprocity treaty. It berated us for our failure to satisfy recent demands made by Panama. But today *El Tiempo* is almost as pro-American as a D.A.R. publication.

COLOMBIA'S gradual change of attitude toward the United States, since the days of the so-called Rape of Panama, when Teddy Roosevelt was calling it a miserable pithecoïd community, is remarkable. Though a recent Colombian orator averred that nine-tenths of Colombia's population are poets, and though her intelligentia affect to be interested only in culture and spirituality, over the past few decades dollars, trade and political solicitude have worked wonders in transforming this southern country's opinion of us.



Kladderadatsch, Berlin

The South American lama pays his respects to Uncle Sam.

When the Panama Canal was opened in 1914, the first ship to pass through carried nitrates for war-mad Europe. As Colombia lies athwart the Canal at the top of South America, with ports on both the Pacific and the Atlantic, its long economic isolation was necessarily broken. Over night the country was plunged into the hurly-burly of the modern world. The World War accelerated its economic transformation; the post-War years speeded it up still more.

IN American eyes Colombia was no longer a pithecoïd community. Not that we bothered about her culture. But to make it possible for American capital to exploit her oil, gold, coal, iron, platinum, emeralds and other raw products, to grow bananas and run her public utilities, the United States Government, belatedly admitted that it had done her wrong in seizing the Canal Zone. We proffered her \$25,000,000 as a sort of heart balm. After proper concessions had been made to American capitalists by the Colombian Government, the first installment of this gift-money finally became available four or five years after the World War.

Following 1914 American trade and capital expanded rapidly south from the Caribbean. In 1912 there was only \$2,000,000 of American capital invested in Colombia. By 1930 there was \$272,000,000. The United States then was taking 61.4 per cent of Colombia's exports and providing 41.42 per cent of her imports; by 1938, 53.7 and 50.2 per cent, respectively.

Two Standard Oil of New Jersey subsidiaries, the Tropical Oil Company and the Andean Corporation, and other powerful American oil and steamship companies have acquired vast tracts of petroleum acreage. Colombia's oil fields are still scarcely tapped, although by 1929 production exceeded 20,000,000 barrels. The United Fruit Company contracted for nearly all banana exports. In 1936 more than 8,000,000 bunches were shipped out of Santa Marta. Concessions of iron, coal, lumber, limestone and platinum were secured. Railroads passed into American hands. The Electric Bond and Share Company became powerful. Loans multiplied. Lindbergh made a good-will flight. Pan-American Airways became a leading international carrier. The Great White Fleet, the Grace Line and other steamship companies built up a lucrative freight and passenger trade. Thus Colombia

was tied into the American orbit with strong economic bonds.

In due time the usual dreary scandals came to light, involving several leading financial institutions in the United States. Improper loan manipulations, diplomatic coercion in behalf of concessionaires, filth in the sales of armaments were unearthed in various Senate investigations. Thanks to discreet pressure from our State Department, which refused to permit Minister Jefferson Caffery to tell of his activities, the public never learned the whole truth about any of these things.

And then, in 1929—so dependent had Colombia become upon the American market—the country went into an economic tail-spin.

Unlike most Latin American countries, Colombia weathered the storm without serious political disturbance. The country's long tradition of peace was maintained, and in 1930 political power was passed on in fairly democratic fashion to the Liberal Party, thus terminating fifty years of Conservative Party rule.

The Liberal Party administrations followed a New Deal pattern, with heavy stress on economic nationalism. Having no more foreign credits, Colombia set up rigid exchange and trade controls. Severe restrictions were put upon capital outflow. American loans went unpaid. American investors could not get full profits out. All financial arrangements had to pass through the government Instituto de Coordinación de los Cambios.

THE situation was ideal for the totalitarian powers, for barter and bilateral trade. In 1933 Japan, for the first time in history, established a legation in Bogotá. Germany flooded the country with blocked marks, and Colombia's surpluses of coffee, cotton, vegetable ivory and rubber began to move. For a time Colombian coffee was shipped first to Hamburg and then to New York.

Heavy German investments were made in oil, banana lands and other enterprises. New German immigrants arrived. Aviation particularly caught the eye of the new arrivals from the Reich. SCADTA (Colombian-German Aerial Transport Company) is the oldest commercial line in existence; with new Nazi impetus behind it, it expanded its activities. Today it flies the greater share of the country's more than 4,000 miles of air routes. In proportion to population, Colombia now probably has more miles of com-

mercial aviation lines than any other country in the world. Even the remotest pueblos are served.

Besides economic nationalism and these new relations with the totalitarian states, the economic crisis resulted in increasing labor militancy and punitive action against United States companies. "Anti-imperialism" became the new slogan. Labor leaders were sent to Mexico in droves to study the labor movement there. Severe and bloody strikes occurred in banana and oil fields and in mines. American overseers had to flee the country. Student riots occurred. President Francisco López (1934-38) was faced with startling peasant revolts.

UNDER Conservative Party rule, Colombia had been one of the first countries in the world to provide old-age pensions, workers' compensation and the eight-hour day. She had been one of the first to ratify the Geneva labor codes. Even so, further land and labor reforms now had to be invoked to please the populace.

After consultation with the peasants and the Conservative leader, Laureano Gómez, President Lopez put into effect a moderate land-distribution system. He took steps to placate labor. Reforms culminated in the 1936 constitutional revisions, which placed social needs above private interest and made possible government ownership of, or participation in, all industrial and agricultural activities for the establishment of quotas, prices and wage levels.

Education was taken entirely out of the hands of the Catholic Church, which ceased to be the official state religion. For the first time education for women was provided in secondary schools and universities. Vocational education was expanded. These and other religious and educational regulations aroused Catholic fears. Considerable property was hurriedly transferred to American Catholic corporations; for instance, the Candelaria church to the American Endowment Fund, Inc.

The banana industry was sternly regulated, and a United Fruit representative, arrested for wholesale bribery and stealing of judicial documents, was deported. American public utilities found themselves hedged by new tax, rate and wage regulations. The President declared that Colombia was taking steps to acquire all railroads. Economic control over the national resources was the goal.

This was also the aim of a further program promulgated on July 18, 1938. It called for self-sufficiency in foodstuffs—expansion of rice, wheat, corn, vegetable and similar cultivation; conservation of forests. Colombia has more acreage than the United States. It called also for scientific exploitation of tropical resources—rubber, coffee, cocoa, copra, bananas and medicinal herbs.

The United States strove tirelessly to break down this new-found Colombian independence. American business fought to get loan payments resumed, to unfreeze exchange, to get profits out, to set aside labor legislation and social controls. The State Department worked hard and efficiently. A new trade treaty was negotiated; exchange restrictions were partly broken down.

But the real chance for American influence to reassert itself came with the election of Eduardo Santos, who became President in August, 1938. Before taking office he journeyed to this country and was royally entertained by Washington officials and the business interests affected. The Pan-American Society gave a banquet in his honor at the Starlight Roof of the Hotel Waldorf-Astoria in New York City. The guests at the main table, besides government officials, were high officers of the International Telephone and Telegraph Company, the Electric Bond and Share, the Pan-American Grace Airways, the Texas Oil Company, the United Fruit Company, W. R. Grace and Company and the Standard Oil subsidiaries.

PRESIDENT SANTOS, formerly critical of the United States, was converted to a new view of our lofty purposes, our nobility of outlook, our complete disinterestedness and unselfish concern for Colombia's welfare. A new friendliness, based on better business and American governmental assistance, blossomed rapidly. Exchange restrictions were further modified. New steps were taken looking toward debt payment. Columbia swung around from controlled to stabilized currency—quite a step toward restoring the work done by the Kemmerer financial mission at the time of our payment of the conscience-salving \$25,000,000. Labor and the peasants are once more being sternly dealt with.

American army planes flew south to participate in the inauguration of Santos as President. Our diplomatic repre-



LIMA: Checkmate to the President

sentation was raised to ambassadorial rank, and Spruille Braden, long interested in mining activities and other business in Latin America, was appointed American ambassador to Colombia. With Braden in the post, the best interests of American investors should now be well safeguarded against trends toward national economic self-determination.

THE extent to which American diplomacy and American business have worsted all competitors (including England, which has seen trade difficulties with Colombia multiply) is revealed by our new air and naval missions. In Colombia there has been laid another stone in the State Department's new structure of continental defenses under American leadership. This is to be further rounded out by an American G-man police mission to help Colombia run her secret service, control smuggling, check-up on foreigners and so-called subversive elements.

Colombia, after her short Odyssey of political and economic independence, is safely—and to all appearances, quite happily—back in the Caribbean orbit of American influence. Now, with the country well tended by American agents, if we can provide enough credit and buy enough goods—and both things seem likely—we need have little fear of successful totalitarian invasion there. A new dawn of American financial penetration is apparently at hand. Once more Colombia has become safe for American capital and democracy. It is back on the good old prosperity roost.

America at Armageddon

Our American heritage, threatened by barbaric forces, is on a vital battleground of history

By LEWIS MUMFORD

To understand the growing popularity of Fascism, one must indeed understand the weaknesses of our contemporary civilization. During the last two centuries Western Civilization, developing too quickly, too ruthlessly, under the tutelage of the inventor and the capitalist, has often demanded sacrifices out of all proportion to its visible benefits. In precisely those points where it has achieved a certain equilibrium, its results have proved unsatisfactory in many respects to the common man. Each day brings with it a burdensome routine. The anxious efforts at punctuality, the necessity for speed and machine-like efficiency in production, the need to suppress personal reactions in an impersonal process, the painful sense of universal insecurity and impotence that an ill-organized, socially irresponsible system of production has brought about—all these things have created a deep malaise. Automatism and compulsion become pervasive. The human personality becomes dwarfed. Totalitarian dictatorships, in one sense, only mobilize this sense of defeat and direct it to their own ends as an attack on civilization itself.

There are two ways of meeting this situation. One is to alter both the goals of living and the means employed; to put social service above private profit, and collective advantage above individual power; to shorten the number of monotonous hours; to provide variety in work and autonomy in every department where it can be introduced; to enlist an active and intelligent cooperation within the office, and the factory, and the farmstead, instead of permitting the absolute dictatorship of the financial system. In short, to substitute cooperative processes for the parasitic and predatory ones that have so long dominated machine industry and its subsidiary occupations. All these means involve drastic changes in the existing institutions—particularly in mitigating the

absolutism of private property and in redistributing the annual income of the community. They also involve deeper psychological understanding, far more expert administrative and legislative skill, than either business or politics can show today.

The Fascist means of meeting this situation is to accept the automatisms that capitalist industry has created—to accept them and make them more universal. Instead of regimentation, a greater amount of it; instead of higher wages and shorter hours, lower wages and longer hours; instead of a larger proportion of consumers' goods and less instrumental goods, just the reverse of this; substituting guns for butter, battleships for bread, bomb-proof shelters and trenches for housing. In short, Fascism doubles the bitter dose to make it more palatable, as a person sometimes presses against an aching tooth in order to relieve the pain.

The Fascist solution leaves our entire mechanical apparatus momentarily intact. Indeed, its armaments are needed in order to make more effective the Fascist's deliberate mobilization of ferocity. Eventually, however, Fascism must destroy not alone our highest mechanical and scientific achievements, but the more general sense of order upon which they are founded. Fascism distinguishes itself from earlier forms of despotism, which grew out of more primitive means of aggression, in that it proudly associates itself with this deliberate return to barbarism. The marks of Fascism, as a system of ideas, may be briefly summed up:

First, *glorification of war*: war as the permanent state of mankind and as the perfect medium for Fascist barbarism. The belief in war as an attribute of all virile nations is a primary mark of Fascism. It is bellicose even when it is chicken-hearted. War remains the basis of the state. The drilling of the soldier is a holy duty; for the aim is to make a whole population

obedient to command, like an army. Life for the Fascist reaches its highest point on the battlefield, or, failing that, on the parade ground.

Second, *contempt for the physically weak*. Whereas Christianity made the meek, the humble, and the weak the very basis of its system of love and charity, Fascism does just the opposite. The weak are either to be exterminated, or to be used as the objects of sadistic sport.

Third, *contempt for science and objectivity*. Because Fascism is based upon a system of shabby myths and pseudo-scientific pretensions which would disgrace the intelligence of a well-educated schoolboy, it must reject science. Science is a means of arriving at results by methods of measuring and testing, that all other men in full possession of their senses may, with similar preparation and discipline, follow. It leads to action on the basis of proved knowledge, rather than action on the basis of mere dream-fantasy and irrational impulse. Fascism, on the other hand, rests upon an addled subjectivity. What the leader desires is real. What he believes is true. What he anathemizes is heresy. To see things as they really are—which is another phrase for objectivity—is the last thing that a dictator would have happen, for it is the danger of all dangers to the system of illusions upon which dictatorial power is established.

Fourth: *hatred for democracy*. Despotism is, as Aristotle knew, a bastard child of democracy. Even now, through its absurd plebiscites, Fascism occasionally goes through the motions of casting a ballot, though the population has lost the right of election. By playing on the more infantile illusions of the masses, the Fascists hope to stave off the development of popular groups that will challenge their power. But democracy, in the sense of responsible popular control and popular initiative, is the chief obstacle to smooth Fascist leadership. Hence Fascism uses de-

mocracy's own healthy skepticism as to its weaknesses and mistakes as a weapon for undermining its own self-confidence. The essential difference between democracy and Fascism, as concerns mistakes, is that Fascist governments have the privilege of covering them up. By definition, the leader can make no mistakes.

Fifth: *hatred of civilization*. If fraud is better than honesty, if propagandist lies are better than objective truth, if arbitrary force is better than rational persuasion, if brutality is preferable to mercy, if aggressive assault is preferable to cooperative understanding, if illusions are better than scientific facts, if war and destruction are better than peace and culture—then barbarism is better than civilization, and Fascism, as the systematic inculcation of barbarism, is a great gift to humanity. Fascism, both by its proclamations and its actions, leaves no doubt as to its source or its preference. Though whatever energy Fascism exhibits is due to the fact that it still can live parasitically upon the remains of civilization, its own specific contributions are barbaric ones.

Sixth—and finally: *Fascism crowns its imbecilities, its superstitions, and its hatreds with one mastering obsession: delight in physical cruelty*. Barbarism is the easy way of life. One has only to let go: to shout when one is angry, hate aggressively when one is frustrated, destroy when one is puzzled. In return for this letting go, one must take orders. But this, in fact, is another kind of letting go—permitting the leader to do one's thinking and give the answer to questions that would otherwise have involved thought, conflict, responsible decision. Fascism therefore calls to those who have not yet emerged from infantilism, and to those who would like speedily to return to it. It is the way of regression. Civilization, on the other hand, is the hard way. It is the way of disciplined growth. It involves efforts besides which the Fascists' repetitious drills and routines, however strenuous, are mere child's play. The relapse into barbarism is a recurrent temptation. Only men can resist it.

Democracy is not a system of government, but a way of life. It is consistent with many systems of government. A democracy may be governed by lot, as in Athens. It may be governed by elected representatives. Its executive power may be diffused, as in pre-Civil War United States; or it may

be concentrated, as took place afterwards. It may be militantly national, as in France during the revolution of 1789; or it may be free from class exploitation and war, as Iceland seems once to have been. It may rest upon a written constitution, as in the United States, or it may be governed by traditions, precedents, blind habits, many only partly formulated, as in Great Britain. It may be agrarian, or capitalistic, or socialistic.

Two things chiefly characterize the democratic method. The first is the



Attempt at Perpetual Motion

participation and consent of the governed. Not merely that passive acquiescence without which no government can long remain in power—but active consent, at intervals of consultation, after discussion and free argument. Consent presupposes two other conditions: free inquiry and free choice.

In other words, democracy is the substitution of education for irrational coercion. This rests not so much upon the institution of schools as upon the search for a common ground in every situation that involves conflict: an effort to substitute intelligence for brute force, law for caprice or prejudice, rational morality for blind mores. Democracy, just because it cannot afford to sacrifice freedom in order to arrive at quick decisions, does not prosper in a crisis. It must take its time. The accommodation of different points of view, the harmonization of strong antagonisms, the resolution of conflicts—these things are the essence of the democratic method.

The second principle is respect for the human individual, and for the endless forms which individuality takes through group expression and counter-expression. Not merely has every man,

ultimately, a claim to be understood and a right to be heard. Every shade and variety of belief, opinion, and doctrine, must be represented if an issue is to be soundly defined or rationally decided. A democracy that denies this, as Athens did in the time of Socrates, has already opened its grave. Unity by inclusion rather than by suppression, extirpation, exclusion, is the principle of democracy.

In democracy's very looseness and lack of rigidity lies its main strength. It must create a multitude of autonomous centers in order not to rely on the authority of a single one. The diffusion of intelligence and responsibility is the very test of a democracy. No democracy can be run by dupes, robots, or automatons. The critical problem for every democracy lies in the process of education; and the upshot of its demand for intelligence and for emotional balance is to make education a continuous function of life.

Men have better knowledge of their immediate neighborhood than of the great world beyond them. They know their own occupations and problems better than those of their neighbors. Hence, democracy has flourished better in a small-scale society, as in Jefferson's time, or in the equally small-scale society of the medieval free city, than it has done later in more complicated and impersonal economic regimes.

The problem of improving the working arrangements of democracy has only been opened up. No one can pretend the sporadic canvassing of public opinion that now takes place under parliamentary government is an effective answer to the problem of modern political control. The fact is that the political system cannot be effectively democratic until a similar diffusion of power and responsibility takes place in our economic system. People who spend their hours accepting decisions made for them elsewhere, and then spend the rest of their working day under the spell of advertisers, salesmen, and radio announcers; who attempt to reduce to automatism all their free functions—these people cannot effectively control their political life. Self-government, for a democracy, is both an individual and a collective need.

But our democratic polity is not washed up. It has hardly been launched. With the promise of leisure that modern invention has opened up

(Continued on page 63)

Third Phase in China

The war has now entered the "chastisement" stage with Japan attempting to consolidate her gains

By STUART LILICO

IN the pleasant terminology of the Japanese War Ministry, the conflict in China is now in its Third Phase. If we may look down on the Far East from an Olympian throne—a boon that is not often granted to the khaki-clad figures of the General Staff at Miyake-Zaka in Tokyo—we can see that in fact the fighting has had three distinct periods so far.

The first extended from the outbreak of hostilities near Peiping in July, 1937 to the fall of Nanking early in December of that year. Except during the brief but heroic stand at Shanghai, the Chinese were always in retreat. That period probably represents the closest Nippon will ever come to fighting the kind of war in China she most desires.

The lull marked by the sack of Nanking was intended to give Japanese soldiers a chance to recuperate from their hard campaign, and to allow dissension to wreck the Chinese National Government. Actually, the recuperating was done by the Chinese army, with no peace offers forthcoming. The fighting thereupon entered a phase in which the Chinese put up a more determined defense, and Nippon was forced to expend ever increasing effort to achieve her objectives. This period included the drive on Hsachow, the reversal at Taierhchwang, the breaking of the Yellow River dikes, the offensive up the Yangtze Valley, and finally the fall of Canton and Hankow. It consumed nearly a year.

Now, truly, the campaign to "chastise the outrageous anti-Japanese government of China" is in its third inning. It seems likely to remain there for a decade, an era characterized by Japanese attempts to consolidate what they already hold, increased guerilla activity on the part of the Chinese, mutual offering and rejecting of peace terms, and mounting international complications. In this phase the United States must inevitably come to look upon the Far Eastern conflict as pro-

gressively a more serious threat to its own interests and safety, and the danger of war will grow.

If we may again mount our Olympian throne and be allowed to draw conclusions at this point, we realize that the past 20 months have brought some interesting revelations of strength and weakness from both sides. To the surprise of most of the world, China has put up a magnificent and effective resistance, while Japan's domestic economy has failed utterly to break down under the economic strain. The results so far have borne out admirably the prediction of a veteran newspaperman in Nanking, who said at the outbreak of fighting, "A year from now we will find China more firmly united than ever before, and Japan stronger economically."

THE Chinese resistance has been all out of proportion to anything anticipated by friend or foe. That the Central Army of General Chiang Kai-shek is still intact, that the Japanese required 18 months to reach Hankow (where they should have been a whole year earlier) and that peace talk has been kept at a minimum, speak volumes for this. Who, three years ago, would have had the temerity to suggest such a thing?

Most surprising has been Chinese "military stamina"—the ability of poorly trained and relatively badly equipped men to stand up against the punishment of artillery, aircraft and tanks. The prolonged stand on the slopes of Mt. Lushan, near Kiukiang—reported to be still in progress as this is written—is a good example. The Japanese have been launching sporadic assaults on that position since the middle of last summer.

The fact that China is still spiritually united, even in the strongholds of the invader, is contrary to all expectations. There have been some defections, of course. Enough men have been found in every occupied town and city to set up "autonomous gov-

ernments" that do Japan's bidding. A few large areas, notably the Shantung province of old Confucius, have shown a willingness to accept the invaders and co-operate with them. The nation is nowhere near so unanimous as many dispatches suggest, but the fact remains that China today is sufficiently united to make news. No one expected that. It injected a largely unforeseen factor into the war.

Similarly, Japan has increased in economic strength and spiritual solidarity—to the surprise of everyone but the General Staff, which outdid Mr. Jim Farley in the grandeur of its predictions—and her armies have registered some startling successes. Whatever we may think about Japanese objectives and methods, the country deserves admiration for the efficiency with which the war has been prosecuted. The wise opinions expressed in the summer of 1937, which almost without exception predicted economic chaos in Japan within a year, today read like ye mid-Victorian novels.

Let there be no question about the all-round ability of the Japanese army. In the first phase of the war it accomplished an advance unparalleled since the Mongol days of Genghis Khan. Even in the less spectacular second period it gained its objectives although outnumbered 4 to 1, or better. Technical ability of a high order was necessary to overcome even the natural obstacles encountered in those drives.

Rivers had to be spanned, and to do that it was necessary to have expert swimmers and divers. Such men were trained in advance. A special technique was necessary for breaching and scaling the walls that surround every Chinese town. The Japanese had worked one out. A startlingly efficient air force was ready to deliver the first shock in dislodging entrenched enemy troops. For these things Japan must be given full credit.

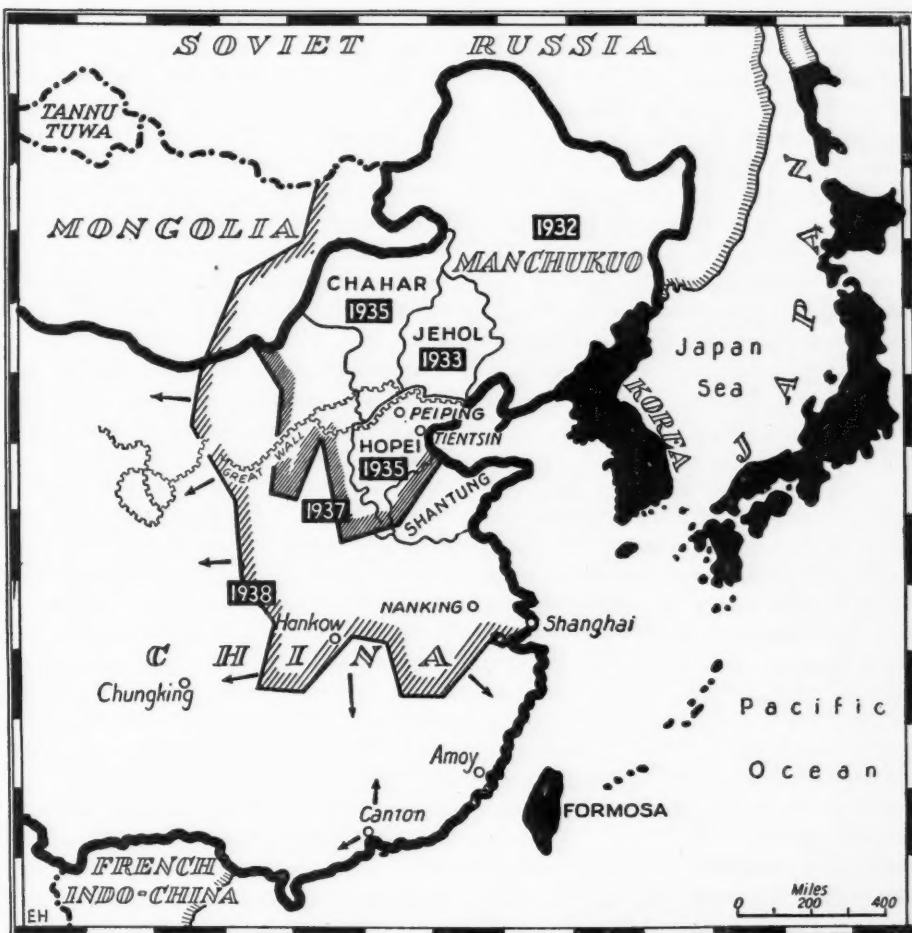
At home, the entire economic structure of Japan has been put at the dis-

posal of the armed forces through the operation of the National Mobilization Law. Two years ago, Nippon was not sound from the standpoint of the militarists. Big Business had too much freedom of action, too little "patriotism." For better or worse, that is corrected today and the nation is floating the biggest budget in its history. Peaceful imports have been cut to the bone (or "to the quick," as American traders put it) and the normal trade surplus (there really was one last year) is devoted to military requirements. Not even a Japanese general could ask for more co-operation than the army is now extracting from business.

JAPAN has practically none of the under-cover opposition at home to be found in Germany, Italy or Russia today. Through vigorous and effective methods, "spiritual" solidarity has been assured. The arrest and imprisonment last winter of 400 liberals of all shades—labor leaders, professors, free-thinking workers and even Diet members—is indicative of the trend this work has taken. The radio, a strictly regimented press and a severe censorship have all played important parts. The result, while it may not be positive co-operation, at least amounts to careful obedience, and that is about all that can be asked under the circumstances.

Admittedly, then, both countries have displayed surprising strength in the crisis, but let us take advantage of our Olympian heights to look again for flaws. Not unexpectedly, the pair have shown themselves woefully weak in several important lines, and as these points come into clear focus we are able to make a generalization: Japan's advance has been on the basis of material strength and spiritual weakness; China's defense, to date, has been the result of the mind's resistance to matter.

If we think back three years, we recall how Nanking's air force was hailed as the hope of China. That idea was exploded in the first weeks of the war. The first aerial clashes occurred August 14 and 15. Both sides claimed victory, but a month later Chinese officials admitted privately that their vaunted air force was a total failure. Japan sustained some heavy losses in those first dog-fights, but emerged as master of the sky, a role that China



Current History Map
Seven years of Japan in China. Though the present war did not nominally start until July, 1937, Japan has been nibbling away at China since 1932.

has not yet been able to wrest back. It is unlikely she ever will.

No one was surprised that the microscopic Chinese navy was quickly eliminated, but less expected was the complete failure of the budding "mosquito fleet" to hinder Japanese operations on the rivers and along the coast. This potentially valuable weapon was allowed to go unused, either through indifference or because of lack of personnel. Thousands of transports and supply ships landed their cargoes unmolested.

For three years before the shooting started at Marco Polo Bridge, China was preparing for Der Tag just as surely as Japan was. Impressive supplies of munitions, equipment, gasoline and other war materials were built up. Most of it was expended to little or no avail. Planes were smashed in landing, expensive guns abandoned in flight, transport facilities wrecked by careless use, and munition dumps blown up to prevent capture. Successive lines of fortifications, particularly in the Shanghai-Hangchow-Nanking triangle, were deserted in blind panic,

although they were capable of holding back the Japanese for six months if properly used. In the final reckoning, China's faith in modern gadgets was misplaced. It was the individual soldier, armed with a machine-gun or hand-grenade, that checked Japan's headlong drive.

ONE other factor has been disappointing—and we risk the wrath of every Communist by suggesting it. That has been the failure of the vaunted guerrilla bands seriously to impede the invaders or to make their new positions untenable. Undeniably they are a great annoyance to Japan and in a few cases have actually forced retreats, but in general they are no more serious than what a Nipponese leader once called them—"a swarm of mosquitoes." Above and beyond their present military worth, however, they have a high nuisance value that may stand China in good stead if the day ever comes to discuss peace.

When we turn to Japan we discover that, characteristically, the greatest weaknesses have been in spiritual

fields. Nothing is more indicative of this than the domestic propaganda campaign, designed to assure support for the army. Completely shut off from reality, treated to tales that even the most naive eventually come to doubt, and told over and over again that victory in their holy war is a foregone conclusion, the people have developed complete apathy toward the whole adventure. Visitors to Tokyo today remark on the few signs of conflict. The reason is, the Japanese have learned that the less positive interest they show the better off they are.

If the rout at Taierhchwang indicated that the Emperor's legions were only an army, the sack of Nanking proved the men were merely human beings, with the same qualities that have characterized such creatures since the beginning of time. It likewise strengthened a suspicion long held by military men; namely, that discipline within the Japanese army is decidedly sketchy. Squabbles among officers over strategy; recurrent strife between the General Staff in Tokyo, on the one hand, and the several high commanders on the continent, on the other, regarding the personnel and policies of the various puppet governments; the whole haphazard conduct of the war, have shown that this characteristic of Japanese civil life carries over into the army. On one occasion during the Shanghai battle, the fighting had to be suspended for several days while the various army and navy leaders tried to reach an agreement on who was running the war.

Realization that every man has the privilege of claiming that he alone is defending the true interests of the Emperor—and getting away with it—makes possible such incidents as the bombing of the *Panay* and other less publicized incidents. The Japanese have a word for it, *aikoku* or patriotism, but we would be inclined to call it plain irresponsibility.

Some of this same spirit has invaded the diplomatic field, where for nearly two years Nippon has been playing with matches. Napoleon, they say, won all his battles but the last; the same motif seems to pervade Japan's diplomatic scuffles. To date, the western world has taken the rebuffs mildly, but you and I are capable of realizing that the way to victory is not through antagonizing possible active enemies. From our Olympian height we might warn Tokyo that the World War came out the way it did largely because Ber-

lin chose to disregard all its diplomatic fences.

Among the most dangerous occupations of our modern age are test piloting, tunnel building and forecasting events in the Far East. Nevertheless, a few trends seem clear-cut, and we may be excused if we undertake a little prognosticating on the course of things in this third round of the Chino-Japanese war. Summarizing, it seems likely that Japan will attempt (probably unsuccessfully) to halt the fighting in favor of a program of consolidation, China will continue her resistance despite a growing movement for peace, and Nippon's diplomatic difficulties will increase until they threaten to overshadow the China drive itself.

It is in the field of international complexities that the future is potentially most exciting, for current events point directly to open strife between Japan and the United States. However true may be the statement that American foreign policy is 90 per cent based on romance, we must accept the fact that opposition to Japan is mounting rapidly in this country. The determined fight to force Congress to ban exports of secondary war materials early this year, was good indication of the concrete form this feeling is taking. Nippon in turn ignores this trend, depending instead on a basically unsound boast of impregnability. Inevitably, both Japan and the United States must realize, the next step is complete economic sanctions. That—by whatever name—is war.

We could wish that the little staff men in khaki, poring over maps at Miyake-Zaka, could appreciate this danger. More important to them is the fact that domestic conditions in Japan appear to be the sharpest spur in the China campaign. The public is giving full support to the army under the "threat to the national existence" (presumably from the Chinese Communists), and will do so for years if the emergency continues. Once the actual fighting is over, however, there is no certainty that the mood will not change. The army has not forgotten that as recently as 1923 it was swept out of power when it failed to keep the people under its spell. Consequently, any attempt to curb the advance of Japan's ever-victorious army might have far-reaching political repercussions at home.

"He who rides the tiger can never dismount," is an oriental saying that covers the situation well.

The lack of discipline in the army,

that we have already observed, may also be an important factor in any attempt to halt the war short of a complete liquidation of Chinese resistance. No one who knows Japan well will bet that the soldiers would not mutiny if faced with the endless duty of garrisoning hostile cities. In the past four years repeated vague rumors of revolts in the ranks have been coming out of China. An army of occupation is never popular, either at home, in the occupied area, or with itself. Count Cavour once observed: "You can do anything with bayonets except sit on them."

China, all this time, is bound to find herself in an unenviable position, torn between counsels for peace and demands for continued resistance. The desertion of Wang Ching-wei may come to nothing, but it illustrates an important and inevitable trend in the Chinese National Government. There is a great deal to be said in favor of a truce on even the least favorable terms, and less violently anti-Japanese leaders can hardly be blamed for trying to cash in on any flagging in popular spirit. Given a new opportunity, they are certain to press for peace.

Despite the growing peace talk, though, we can expect the war to continue officially (as much as it can when it has never started officially) for the simple reason that the Chinese National Government under General Chiang Kai-shek realizes that any surrender means political death. The keynote of Japanese political policy in China, so far as any exists, is to eliminate any effective central regime. Leaders will think long before giving up their struggle. The vast Chinese guerrilla force now operating in the occupied territory is another serious check on any peace short of victory for one or the other. These groups are relatively well organized, but certainly are not sufficiently under control to return meekly to their bases if an armistice were signed.

For the duration of the Third Phase, then, we can expect the fighting to continue—probably sporadically, and with singular disunity of purpose. From our advantageous position we realize that the real bar to peace in East Asia is the fact that neither government can figure out how to stop the war and still remain in power.

A philosophical Chinese recently summed up Nippon's position neatly when he explained: "Japan can make war, all right, but it doesn't know how to make peace."

The Income Tax Unit

Though the Federal agents may take your last dollar, they are ordered to do it with a smile

By NORMAN COUSINS

Two years ago Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau instructed everybody in the income tax division and especially the collection agents to brush up on Emily Post and to treat taxpayers with painstaking courtesy and gentility. Mr. Morgenthau was anxious to correct what he felt was an erroneous and increasingly bitter opinion of the division among many people who seemed to regard income tax agents as stern, inflexible, duty-bound enforcers of the law who were out to crack the whip over innocent citizens or to railroad them into Federal penitentiaries for the slightest discrepancies on their income tax returns.

As a result, the Income Tax Unit of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, as it is officially known, has been leaning over backwards in an effort to convince the taxpayer that he will be accorded the gentle consideration befitting Uncle Sam's chief provider. Threat of penal punishment is never mentioned save in the most obviously fraudulent cases and even there the government will give the taxpayer every opportunity to prove his case. Collection and examination agents have been trained to be polite and cordial. Sweetness and light have become the new order of the day; agents who lose their patience may very conceivably lose their jobs.

Treasury department officials do not deny that in the past a small number of income tax agents may have been surly as bears in dealing with the public and they appreciate that this small minority may have been in a measure responsible for the general unfavorable impression of the division as a whole. They realize, too, that the wide publicity surrounding Al Capone and other convicted and imprisoned income tax evaders has helped create and promote the general feeling among many taxpayers that thousands of similarly convicted evaders are tucked away in the nation's jails.

It may come as a surprise to these

same citizens to learn that in addition to Al Capone, who will be released on parole this fall, there are only nine prisoners in Federal penitentiaries for convictions on violations of income tax laws. Of these, all but four are public enemies who could not have been reached by the arm of the law in any other way. Considering that hundreds of thousands of returns are questioned by the government each year, the atomic percentage of violations resulting in jail sentences hardly justifies the general impression that the slightest slip-up on a return may mean a sojourn in Alcatraz. The jail sentence is the last resort of the income taxers and it is only used where fraud has been proved over a period of years and the perpetrator is known to be a pretty spotty character.

THE usual sentence is one year and a day—minimum residence requirement at Federal prisons—for those the law decides ought to be put away for income tax violations. Maximum punishment is two years for each count on which a convicted person is found guilty. There are two main counts—wilful evasion and failure to pay—and the government cannot go back beyond three years in back taxes. So that the top term for anybody convicted all the way down the line is twelve years. Only a handful have received this maximum sentence in the quarter-century history of the income tax. All of them were criminals whose incarceration was facilitated through Uncle Sam's handy income tax club.

In charge of criminal prosecution for evasion of income taxes—and all other Federal taxes—is the Intelligence Unit of the Bureau of Internal Revenue. Originally formed to investigate and prosecute the more serious cases of tax violations, the Unit in recent years has become something of a G-Man bureau which steps in where other law enforcement agencies fail and brings criminals before the bar of justice.

The biggest single catch by the unit last year on the income tax evasion charge was Kanekichi Yamamota of Seattle, a slippery smuggler who for years, according to the government, peddled narcotics and extorted large sums of money from gambling houses on the west coast. Yamamota was arrested, convicted, and sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment.

Another feather in the cap of the Intelligence Unit is the further incarceration of Leon Gleckman, St. Paul's Public Enemy No. 1. Gleckman, who operated a "finance company," was convicted in 1934 on charges of income tax evasion and sent to jail. While he was away, the Unit continued to investigate his case and managed to obtain evidence that he "loaned" money to one of the jurors who sat at his trial. Gleckman walked out of prison to find himself up on charges of jury fixing. Back again behind bars, he has reason to reflect upon the thoroughness of Uncle Sam's tax officers.

During the last fiscal year a total of 7,600,000 individuals and corporations filed returns which yielded Uncle Sam \$2,500,000,000. Sifting through all these returns, examiners found that 430,000 were faulty in one respect or another. Of these, approximately half were closed without deficiency claims by the government. Many of the returns in this category involved small discrepancies that were readily settled without question by the taxpayer. Other thousands were closed with apologies by Uncle Sam after taxpayers proved their point. Still others involved mathematical errors or were illegible and were promptly corrected or clarified by their senders with corresponding remittances or refunds, as individual cases required.

But the remaining half of the 430,000 returns questioned by the government was not disposed of as easily or with as few disputes. Field agents of the income tax unit, after conducting hearings on the 1938 re-

turns, decided that 210,565 citizens and corporations owed the government more money. These deficiencies totaled \$280,000,000, or about \$1,300 for each case. This average is heavily weighted because it includes corporations (a statistical breakdown is not available) but the average for individual taxpayers is undoubtedly much lower.

The higher the deficiency, the tougher it is for the government to collect. Approximately 25,000 cases belonging to the 1938 returns and involving deficiencies of \$188,000,000 are still being contested. But 185,000 taxpayers whose deficiencies total \$94,000,000 have agreed to the government's findings. In other words, the cases still being disputed involve an average deficiency of \$7,600, as against an average of about \$500 for those already settled.

THE income tax unit is ordered to be as scrupulous about returning money where taxpayers have overpaid as it is about putting in claims where taxpayers are deficient. Thus, last year the unit returned to about fifty thousand citizens, most of whom were surprised and delighted, checks totaling approximately \$24,000,000. Many of them had neglected to deduct the ten per cent of their incomes allowed them under the heading "earned income credit." Other refunds grew out of mathematical errors or omissions in carrying over figures from one page to another. The government included interest at six per cent per annum on each refund, pointed out the particular oversight on each return and cautioned against similar errors on future returns.

Certain Treasury officials, however, think the government's willingness to pay interest on income tax refunds has resulted in what might be called a "tax investment" racket. They have reason to believe that hundreds of citizens have taken unfair advantage of the government and have needled the Treasury out of many thousands of dollars. The system, or racket, is quite simple and the government has no legal means of defending itself.

This is how it works:

Mr. X, who has had a very substantial income in 1936, might normally pay an income tax of \$2,000 after all deductions were made. Instead, he intentionally neglects to make certain important deductions and sends the Bureau of Internal Revenue his check for \$5,000—or \$3,000 more than he

should. Three years later he writes Uncle Sam, saying that he has discovered a horrible mistake in his income tax report for 1936. He had unfortunately neglected to make a number of deductions and encloses records showing he is legally entitled to a refund of \$3,000. The government investigates, finds the deductions are legitimate and Mr. X receives a check for that amount, plus interest, which at the rate of six per cent per year gives him \$3,573.05, or a net profit of \$573.05!

"Frankly, this thing has us worried," a distraught Treasury official told me. "More and more taxpayers who are not above victimizing the government in this way are trying it every year, feeling, no doubt, that six per cent on their money is as good an investment as they can get anywhere these days. We would revoke the interest clause except that it works both ways: we pay interest on our refunds to taxpayers and they are charged interest at six per cent on what they owe us. Of course, they owe us many times more than we owe them.

"It wouldn't be possible," he added, "to attempt to turn this into a sort of one-way street where only the taxpayers would pay interest. Nor could we establish two rates of interest, one at six per cent—charged by the government, the other at, say, three per cent—to go with refunds. It wouldn't be fair to those taxpayers who have legitimate claims or to those who make honest errors that result in voluntary refunds by the government."

OF course, not everybody can beat the game. One wealthy dowager apparently forgot about the Statute of Limitations, which prevents a taxpayer, or the government for that matter, from opening a return three years after it is filed. She put in her claim six months too late and lost not only the interest but the "principal" as well. Others neglect to preserve records of every item involved in the overpayment and are dismayed to find that part or all of their claims are disallowed. Still others get their fingers burned because Uncle Sam, instead of confining himself to an examination of the claim for refund may—if he becomes suspicious—look into the entire return and find enough discrepancies to equal and frequently to dwarf the original claim, especially when he is disposed to examine an individual's returns for the three years allowed him under the limitations statute.

To compensate for the "investors"—in an altruistic if not a financial sense—are the hundreds of citizens who are not required under the law to pay taxes on their incomes but who nevertheless send in amounts ranging from small change to a hundred dollars. Two years ago the Chicago Bureau of Internal Revenue received a letter from an anonymous person who enclosed twenty dollars in cash, explaining he didn't "owe Uncle Sam anything for income tax for 1936, but it is easily worth this much to live in such a country."

For reasons which are far from charitable or appreciative, however, thousands of citizens each year reject refunds offered by the government. Many of them think they are entitled to larger amounts and not infrequently will carry the case to the courts. It is difficult to estimate how many of these were not successful in working the "investment" game on the government, but the percentage is not high. The great majority of cases in which larger refunds are asked involve taxpayers whose claims are honest, though not always accurate or allowable.

Refund rejections totaling \$7,500,000 were received by the government in almost four thousand cases last year. This averages about \$1,100 to a rejection, but the figure would be much lower if corporations were not included.

Though income tax examiners or collectors do not generally volunteer the information, a taxpayer whose return is under examination has certain rights which he might be foolish to overlook. When called on to explain what the government feels to be an underpayment, he is entitled to enter any legitimate deductions he may have omitted at the time he first sent in his return. The case of one nationally-known publisher who was on the income tax carpet for six successive years might be mentioned in this connection. As regularly as the seasons, income tax agents would show up each fall, asking to examine his records. The first few years he obligingly produced his books, which he had been careful to keep, and which substantiated his original figures. When the visits persisted he decided the government had gone too far. The agents called on him the fourth year to find that not only was he prepared as usual to defend his deductions successfully, but that he had a long list of allowable items he had not included on his return that year and demanded a refund.

which the government approved and sent to him. After banging their heads against a stone wall for two more years and coming away each time with valid bills on the Treasury instead of checks, the agents gave up and crossed the publisher's name off their "blacklist."

Though the income taxers deny that they maintain a blacklist and never refer to it as such, they nevertheless keep a list of names of taxpayers whose returns are scrutinized with especial care. The easiest way to get on this list is to be called for examination and get into a dispute with the government. Sometimes a taxpayer is put on the list because the return itself seems to suggest to the examiners that his future returns will bear watching. Once on the list, as in the case of the publisher mentioned before, it may be years before a name is removed.

The Bureau of Internal Revenue divides income tax returns into three main classifications: individual incomes under \$5,000, or "Form 1040A"; individual incomes over \$5,000 or "Form 1040"; and all corporation incomes, or "Form 1120." There are other classifications for partnerships, fiduciaries and the like, but 99 per cent of all returns belong to the three large groups.

If a return is in the lower income brackets or a 1040A, the chances that its sender will not be called for examination are better than if he is in the \$5,000-or-over class or a 1040. For though the 1040A's are checked by the local collector and remain in his files, the 1040's are sent to Washington where the professional scrutinizers of the Income Tax Unit get to work on them with their comptometers, checking machines and fine-combs. And aiding them in their cross-checking are special files which enable examiners to see whether individuals have reported their incomes correctly. These files contain payroll reports, dividends, large gifts and other ways in which substantial sums of money change hands. The trained eyes of the examiners rarely miss a return which fails to list any items of income recorded in the files. The corporation returns, or 1120's, are sent to Washington for similar X-ray examination.

Faulty returns are sent to local field agents who notify the individual taxpayer or corporation of the particular discrepancies. Cases that are not settled by correspondence require personal visits by taxpayers to the local

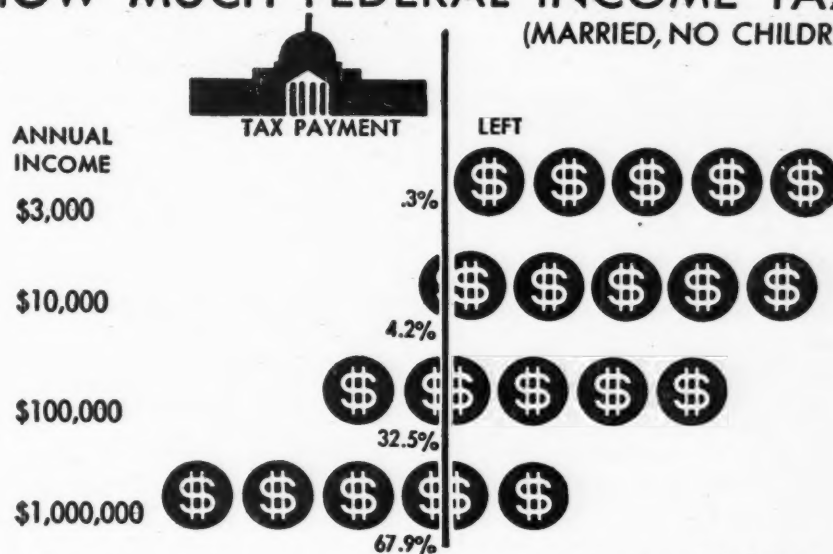
income tax bureau or by field agents to the homes or offices of taxpayers. Any citizen is within his rights in insisting that the government come to see him if for any reason he feels it may be inconvenient or costly to take time off for a visit to the local income tax office. Not infrequently field agents will voluntarily come to the taxpayer where they feel that his time may be valuable or that it might be difficult for him to transport his records.

If, even after repeated conferences

Supreme Court. But even here, the Court may not decide to grant a review. As a matter of fact, exactly 100 cases were denied hearings at the last session of the Court. But in the cases that were permitted to come before it, 13 taxpayers won a final victory over the government. But 36 fight-to-the-last-ditch taxpayers lost their appeals.

The types and varieties of claims for deductions are endless. Adolphe Menjou, dapper screen star, reported an income several years ago of \$30,000, deducting half that for his wardrobe.

HOW MUCH FEDERAL INCOME TAX? (MARRIED, NO CHILDREN)



Science Service-Pictorial Statistics, Inc.

with the income tax agents, there is no agreement, the government will send what is known as a "statutory letter" to the taxpayer, giving him 90 days to take his case to the Board of Tax Appeals or be flatly assessed. Should the taxpayer accept this challenge, the government will make a final attempt at settlement before the case comes before the board. Lawyers attached to the General Counsel's office of the Income Tax Unit will talk to the taxpayer, point out the expense for both him and the government involved in carrying the case any further, and attempt to reach some agreement. Surprisingly, this works in 78 per cent of the cases.

Should the Board of Tax Appeals uphold the government, the taxpayer is still not completely licked. The Circuit Court of Tax Appeals is his next step—if he is determined that he is in the right and can afford the not inconsiderable legal expenses. In the event he again loses, there is one more avenue of appeal, but only one: the

Notified by agents that the claim would not be allowed, he insisted that his standing as a star might be affected if he lost his designation as the screen's best-dressed man. After three years of bickering back and forth, the government lost its case when a court order held that Menjou was entitled to deduct for as many suits or other pieces of clothing as he felt were necessary for the "normal conduct" of his business.

It is not at all unusual for examiners to come upon returns that regard animals as members of families with deductions of \$400 for each one. One middle-aged gentleman listed himself as unmarried but claimed an exemption of \$2500 as head of a family. Puzzled, and seeking explanation, income tax agents called on him to find his "family" consisted of a cat and her two kittens. One woman insisted in all seriousness that her deduction for a poodle should be allowed because it looked so much like her former husband.

Paradox of French Monarchism

A party of moderates supported by fanatics
has few members of its own but a loud voice

By ROBERT STRAUSS-HUPÉ

EARLY one morning last October a mysterious airplane bumped to earth at a village in northern France. A tall, dark, mustached young man stepped out. Up to him dashed Pierre de la Rocque, brother of Colonel Francois de la Rocque, erstwhile French fascist leader. Soon de la Rocque whisked the young man off to a nearby chateau.

Awaiting them in the hall of the chateau was a small group of journalists who had motored up from Paris through the early morning gloom. With a flourish de la Rocque introduced the newcomer. He was the Count of Paris, son of the Duke of Guise, pretender to the throne of France.

The Count read the reporters a prepared proclamation: "Not only is the German 'diktat' [at Munich] a humiliation that has no precedent in our history, but it means a new weakening of our strategic position . . . We alone, aided by all Frenchmen, can remake France. If France rejects monarchy she must choose between decay and party dictatorship."

Champagne was served, and everyone drank to "the restoration of France." Then, while the reporters waited to give him time for a safe getaway, the Count hurried back to his plane to return to Belgium, where he and his father, the bearded, kindly old Duke of Guise, make their home. As pretenders to the throne they are legally barred from French soil.

In ordinary times the French public would have been inclined to yawn at such proceedings. But during a period when French political parties were even more unsettled than usual, when Communists were hurling charges that the Fascists were planning a coup, thoughtful observers once more had turned a watchful eye toward the Royalists.

Historically, the French throne is claimed by three royal houses—the Bourbons, the Bonapartes, and the Orleanists. The Bourbons traditionally

What are the Orleanists?
How many pretenders are there to the French throne?
What is the *Action Francaise*?
Are French monarchists opposed to Hitler?
Who are Charles Maurras and Leon Daudet?
Who is the Duke of Guise?
Has the late Pope Pius XI approved the pro-Catholic monarchist movement?

These questions are answered in the accompanying article by Mr. Strauss-Hupé.

have stood for clerical and feudal reaction, the Bonapartists for military dictatorship, the Orleanists for an English-model constitutional monarchy. Orleanists, in short, are liberals. Today the only two active pretenders to the French throne—the Duke of Guise and his son, the Count Paris—belong to the House of Orlean.

But although the self-styled "monarchs" of France are moderates, the members of *Action Francaise* (that little party which vociferously demands restoration of the monarchy) are fanatics. It has relatively few members—about 50,000—and no representatives in Parliament; yet *Action Francaise* has a nuisance value equivalent to many times its numbers. These royalists are more royal than the Duke of Guise himself, and their strong-arm zeal amazes him. The Duke ignores their wild appeals and directs his own appeals to the French people as a whole.

Action Francaise is under the leadership of two writers, Charles Maurras and Leon Daudet. They address the French public through a daily newspaper which they call *Action Francaise*, that has a circulation of about 80,000. Professing fealty to the ungrateful pretender in exile, the party summarily rejects the parliamentary system and proposes to re-

store an autocratic and hereditary monarchy. Its doctrines, elaborated in the political writings of Maurras, offer a happy compromise between the Old Regime before its liquidation in 1789, and More's Utopia. In Maurras' ideal state, the monarch, surrounded by a select group of advisers, rules over a citizenry organized into guilds of workers and employers. The corporate state knows neither class struggles nor parties; the guilds consult and deliberate; the state coordinates; the monarch unifies. A union of King and Church underlies the civic structure.

Naturally this scheme of an ideal monarchy, clashing with every tenet of democracy, evokes scorn from Loyal Republicans. But paradoxically, Maurras' and Daudet's sharpest critics are among the very circles which it would put into power. Neither the Duke of Guise nor the Count of Paris has endorsed the program of these monarchists who would restore them to the throne.

Sharp cleavage among the extreme Rightists has been illustrated in two recent incidents. The first was a political scandal which filled the press during the fall of 1937. A certain Duke Pozzo di Borgo, writing in an obscure weekly, *Choc*, "revealed" that Colonel de la Rocque, leader of the now dissolved Fascist "Croix de Guerre," and present chairman of the French Socialist Party, had drawn heavily on a secret fund which Parliament has placed at the disposal of the Ministry of the Interior. The logical inference was that de la Rocque, hero of ex-servicemen, had marshalled his legions not against the "corrupt Republican government" but toward whatever goal the Government itself indicated.

Naturally the press of the Left elaborated lovingly on this choice morsel of Fascist venality. But it soon became clear that Pozzo di Borgo's "revelation" was an incident in a bitterly waged civil war between the

forces of the Right. Several nationalist editors denounced de la Rocque as "the Pied Piper of the Fascist revolution." Vitriolic as were their attacks, they were tepid compared to the vicious abuse that Maurras and *Action Francaise* heaped upon the unhappy Colonel. This was all the more remarkable because just a few months before the same newspaper had been ready to toss rose petals at the mere mention of de la Rocque's name.

Colonel de la Rocque took his injured honor to court. On the witness stand his detractors could produce little except back-stairs gossip to support their charges. De la Rocque won some minor points, but the court declined to rule on the burning matter of the secret fund.

The whole malodorous affair did little to weld the many pieces of the Right into the united front which nationalists said they were seeking as an answer to the Red menace. The de la Rocque case brought into the open the Right's bitter rivalries and its incredible capacity for self-destruction.

It also cast new light on the divergence of opinion which separated *Action Francaise* from the heir-apparent, the Count of Paris. The Count in open letters firmly disowned Maurras' tactics and, less outspokenly, took de la Rocque's side in the controversy. Maurras respectfully but pointedly replied that the Count should shun unscrupulous advisers, including the Colonel's brother, who was "aide-de-camp to the Royal Court" of the pretender.

The second instance of the Rightist breach came last October, when the Count of Paris made his hasty visit to France. The editors of *Action Francaise* were not invited to hear the Count read his proclamation; they had to reprint the text of his manifesto from another newspaper. In his *Action Francaise* Maurras declared that he subscribed to the sentiments which the Count had expressed, snapped somewhat irrelevantly at His Highness' counsellors, and dropped the matter.

It is not personal jealousy which keep the French pretenders and the Maurras-Daudet monarchists apart. Their difference is rather a basic one, rooted in the policies and principles of the royalist movement. It forces one to ask if *Action Francaise* is not a vehicle for M. Maurras' opinions rather than a true monarchist party; if royalism is not really a mask for

Maurras' literary aspirations; if under Maurras' medieval guilds is not hidden a twentieth-century corporate and totalitarian state.

Maurras' attitude toward religion is most perplexing. *Action Francaise* is violently pro-Catholic; yet the movement has been condemned by the Pope. Maurras is a self-confessed atheist, excommunicated by Rome; yet he ingeniously uses Catholicism as an emotional lever on popular sentiment. Maurras has saddled the cause of royalism in France with a Catholicism that takes the form of a union of



The Count of Paris, son of the Duke of Guise, is an active pretender to the French throne, but disagrees strongly with many of the monarchists.

church and state of pre-revolutionary model; a notion that has been disowned by the Duke of Guise. These things do not speak well for Maurras' intellectual integrity. But there is something impressive in Maurras' sublime disregard for a century and a half of French history. This determined overlooking of the trend of our times explains best why his *Action Francaise* appeals to certain sections of the French people.

Action Francaise, the party, is primarily a form of literary protest against the Republic; so the party and its paper are as intimately related as voice and body. The paper protests at times brilliantly and never dully, against everything—against democracy, parliamentary politics, big business, the Machine Age, even against atheism!

Gossip-sheet of the provincial aristocracy, the paper caters to the small man who finds in its pages vicarious satisfaction for his social aspirations. The educated youth of the middle classes, impatient with the interminable patter of parliamentary politics, finds in its forceful editorials a doc-

trine of direct action which promises to sweep away the politicians and their grafting lobbies. To the artisan it offers the closed guild, to the small tradesman it offers a pre-industrial economy in which both monopoly and labor union are abolished. To the intellectual of the upper classes Maurras is the classical scholar and lucid thinker whose many inconsistencies are brilliant facets of an unusual mind. To the small man and his idiosyncracies Daudet publishes popular columns and folksy stories.

Action Francaise knows how to satisfy a wide variety of tastes. Alone in France its front-page stories shout political anti-Semitism. Other nationalist extremists may occasionally venture an essay on this Jewish question; all parties of the extreme Right have tapped the topic to their profit. But Maurras and his crowd are far ahead of the others, returning with unfailing regularity to their attack on World Jewry as personified by ex-Premier Blum and the banking Rothschilds. Exposés of political corruption and of the occult powers of Freemasonry alternate with personal invective that smears otherwise unassailable reputations.

The September crisis over Czechoslovakia found Maurras militantly entrenched on the side of peace. Because he dislikes Germany and is by no means pacifistic, he turned all the more bitterly on the "warmongers," whom he identified as Leon Blum and his followers. After the Munich conference, Maurras extended grudging congratulations to Premier Daladier, who up to that time had graced the *Action Francaise* rogue's gallery. He sent even warmer congratulations to ex-Premier Flandin, who had telegraphed Hitler pleading for peace. These obligations performed, Maurras then proceeded to lambaste the government for what he called its neglect of military preparedness, particularly in regard to aviation.

Deep-rooted estrangement between the *Action Francaise* and the royal pretenders makes it extremely hazardous to guess just where the French royalist movement is headed. Confusion over personal and doctrinal issues is likely to deceive the observer as to its real strength.

Chaos in French political life during the past few years may enhance the chances for monarchistic restoration. Twice the Chamber of Deputies has abdicated its legislative powers and delegated them to the Premier.

Thus Daladier, acting as virtual dictator, and not the Chamber, dealt with the grave issues in the Munich September crisis and the November general strike. This recurrent eclipse of parliamentary government has made many Frenchmen question the validity of republican institutions. One result of their dissatisfaction has been to increase pro-royalist sentiment in France.

Many members of the middle class have recently been attracted to royalism. The bourgeoisie is exasperated by the new social legislation, from which it does not benefit, and by the economic crisis, from which it has been permitted to suffer without assistance from the Government. In France, as in all European countries, the mystic, medieval trappings of royalty appeal to the middle class, particularly to its youth.

In addition there are considerable sections of the French people who are traditionally royalist, small in numbers yet great in influence. Some army officers take little pains to disguise their royalist sympathies. There is a strong royalist tradition in the navy. There is still an old nobility and a gentry that hark back to feudal days. There are remote districts in Vendee and Normandie where a solid peasantry reveres the memory of the old kings. There is a country clergy still unreconciled to the Republic and its lay teachers. There is a fringe of deputies in the Chamber with royalist leanings.

Finally there are—and all French political movements nervously watch this uncertain factor—the political floaters who yesterday were followers of the Fascist Colonel de la Rocque. Today these floaters cheer one or the other of the would-be "Fuehrers" who pop up and down in French life. Tomorrow they may acclaim "the Heir to the Forty Kings," the Count of Paris.

Right now these potential recruits lack the leadership which could gather their scattered forces into an effective group. The Duke of Guise and the Count of Paris cannot exert real influence while in exile. Maurras represents a baffling factor which complicates rather than clarifies the course of royalism. The question "Whither French Royalism?" needs a clearer, simpler answer than Maurras' brilliant dialectics can provide. No one now knows when, nor from where nor even whether, that answer will come.

Franco's Big Push

(Continued from page 16)

had become so confused that there were fighting priests in the loyalist camp and fierce anarchists toiling for Franco. The loyalist Basques were good Catholics, while the rebel Phalanx was agnostic. The Pope, neopagan Hitler, and the richest man in Spain, Jewish Juan March, were on the same side.

In the fall of 1938, Italy evacuated 10,000 of her troops from Spain, but it turned out that they were mostly invalids and of no military value. During the same period most of the International Brigades were demobilized and sent home. Replacements were brought in from Italy, however, and six Italian divisions were jacked up to full fighting strength. These divisions possessed at least 500 first-flight airplanes, and probably more, as estimated by conservative experts and intelligence men. Italian manpower in Spain was set roughly at 70,000.

Just before Christmas, 1938, the rebels struck out in another great drive, utilizing primarily the Italians, Moors, and men of Navarre. The objective was to polish off Catalonia in the northeast, and to capture Barcelona. By the middle of January, 1939, Catalonia's second city—Tarragona—had fallen to Franco, and on January 26 the Moorish cavalry and Italian tanks were piling into an undefended Barcelona. The loyalists here had promised a diehard, house-to-house defense in the best Spanish manner, but it failed to materialize. Instead, the so-called radicals of fickle Barcelona rushed from their homes to embrace the rebel invaders, waving striped monarchist flags of red and gold, and giving Fascist salutes.

Franco wheeled in military soup kitchens and fed the starving populace, while his local sympathizers began a man-hunt for loyalist leaders in hiding. The capital again moved—this time to a hamlet near the French border—and the rebel forces were rushed through Barcelona and out again in stern pursuit. The reactionary board chairman of Hispano-Suiza became Lord Mayor, and more and more Spanish, less and less Catalan, were heard on the Barcelona city streets. It seemed safer. Loyalist prisoners by the many hundreds joined the rebel armies. The population of Barcelona had swollen to three million as refugees poured in. Due to daily

bombings and desperate overcrowding, the municipality was in a mess. Franco cleaned it up.

Barcelona, like Gettysburg and Saratoga, was the turning-point in the Spanish civil war. Like many turning-points in history, it was comparatively bloodless. Said an eye-witness: "The retreating loyalists did not destroy their industrial centers—textile factories and extensive engineering plants. A Catalan is too practical to destroy his livelihood."

Strangely enough, after the aerial deaths of Sanjurjo and Mola, Franco himself was nearly shot down over Barcelona as he observed his soldiers' final advance. Personally, he is a mildish sort of dictator and a devoted family man. The Moors adore him, although most Spaniards do not. He is 47 years old, and the civil war has turned him rather gray. He comes from northwestern Galicia, and attended the famous Spanish West Point—the Infantry Academy at Toledo. He is a topographical expert and collects maps in the spirit of a secluded librarian.

Franco won two medals in Morocco before the civil war, and studied at Berlin, Dresden, and Versailles. He is a great admirer of Germany. He has served as Governor of the Balearic and Canary Islands, and was chief-of-staff for the Republic in 1934. He is neither cruel nor vindictive, although many of his vassal generals are both. His particular army buddy is General Juan Yague, who led the Moors in the triumphal entry into Barcelona.

Asked for his aims for Spain, Franco has declared: "After the civil war Spain will be organized as a nation in arms. It is pure fantasy to discuss Mediterranean equilibrium without taking Spain into consideration. We have in our hands the entrance to the Mediterranean. When other European states discuss the Mediterranean, we will not be left out of any talks. I shall consider invalid any plan which may be formulated regarding the Mediterranean without us."

And if England and France become over-insistent as to the Italian and German holds on "his" Spain, Franco can pointedly reply: "Quite so. And what are *you* British doing in Gibraltar, and *you* French in Morocco?"

Liberalism Backfires in Oregon

By RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

THERE is grim irony in the fact that the people of Oregon, at a popular referendum, have adopted the most stringent law regulating labor unions ever enacted in this country. Three times business men and industrialists had tried futilely to persuade the State legislature to pass such a measure. Then they turned to the initiative and referendum to accomplish their purpose—the initiative and referendum that Oregon introduced to the western hemisphere 35 years ago as the way to attain liberal political and economic reforms.

"In Oregon," wrote Burton J. Hendrick shortly after the start of this century, "it is on the farms that the laws are really made and not at the State capitol." He was referring to the unique governmental innovation by which petitions signed by frontier ranchers and backwoods lumber-jacks could place proposals on the ballot for decision by the people themselves. First sponsored in Oregon, the initiative and referendum have since spread to twenty-one other States, but Oregon remains the commonwealth where, according to Dr. Charles A. Beard, they have been put to the greatest test and the most extensively tried.

The results of the test, after three decades and more, are paradoxical. Oregon adopted direct legislation at the insistence of Populists, single-taxers and other insurgent groups. The deed was hailed by Lincoln Steffens and Charles Erskine Scott Wood and "Fighting Bob" La Follette. The first radical precepts that John Reed ever heard came from the Oregon pioneers who crusaded for direct legislation. In this atmosphere the initiative and referendum were born in America, transplanted across the sea from Switzerland. "Oregon has evolved the best system of government that exists in the world today," Senator Jonathan Bourne, Jr., said 35 years ago. "It is an absolute government by the people."

Since Bourne uttered those words in the most widely distributed speech

ever delivered in the United States Senate, absolute government by the people in Oregon has achieved scarcely any reforms fundamentally liberal or radical. Quite to the contrary, it has brought about a number of reactionary ones—among them the anti-labor law recently enacted.

Why? What has happened that a governmental method presumed to be progressive has worked out just the opposite? There are many reasons. Most of them come down to the fact that the mass of voters, despite inherent decency and conscientiousness, have not demonstrated the ability to cope directly with complicated legal and constitutional issues. The people are seldom fooled on candidates; men generally are apparent for what they stand. Measures are another matter; there the people can be misled and bewildered. Laws can mean one thing and say another. Deception, too, is easy when the average citizen must pass on intricate phraseology conceived by lawyers.

The epochal labor bill which Oregon's voters adopted last Election Day contains 600 words. How many people read it through? What percentage of those understood its terms? How many who signed the petition ordering the proposal on the ballot knew precisely what they were signing? Was the real sponsorship of the bill evident to those who voted it onto the statute books?

THE title of the anti-labor law was "Bill Regulating Picketing and Boycotting by Labor Groups and Organizations." Where did this give the slightest hint that even the cautious William Green believes the measure may destroy every trade union in the State? The ostensible promoters of the law were the Associated Farmers of Oregon, an organization allegedly representing "65,000 outraged farmers" whose crops spoiled in the fields because of trucking and maritime strikes. Since the election, the expense account filed by the Associated Farmers has

revealed that all except about \$4.65 of the thousands of dollars spent by this organization was contributed by lumber companies, furniture dealers, utility lawyers, hotel managers and similar "farmers."

Long ago in Oregon's fastnesses the founders of the initiative and referendum said that the legislature did not really represent the people. The banks and railroads and lumber companies, they claimed, had control of the law-making process. Direct legislation was the solution these pioneer progressives put forth. Let the people propose statutes by petition and then decide on them directly at the polls. But what Oregon's frontier liberals forgot was that labor unions and farm holiday associations may represent minority opinion, just as powerful economic interests may.

OURS is a government of pressure by minorities. Consider the raids on the Treasury by War veterans seeking the bonus. Would the doughboys have cashed in so successfully if there had been a nation-wide referendum? Organized labor applied political thumb-screws on Capitol Hill and got the Norris-LaGuardia Law, the Wagner Act and the Wages and Hours Bill. Would it have obtained these gains from a poll by the whole electorate? Townsendites have terrorized Democrats and Republicans alike into expanding old-age pension benefits. But would all the voters ratify these schemes that are forced onto the statute books by a minority composed of old people?

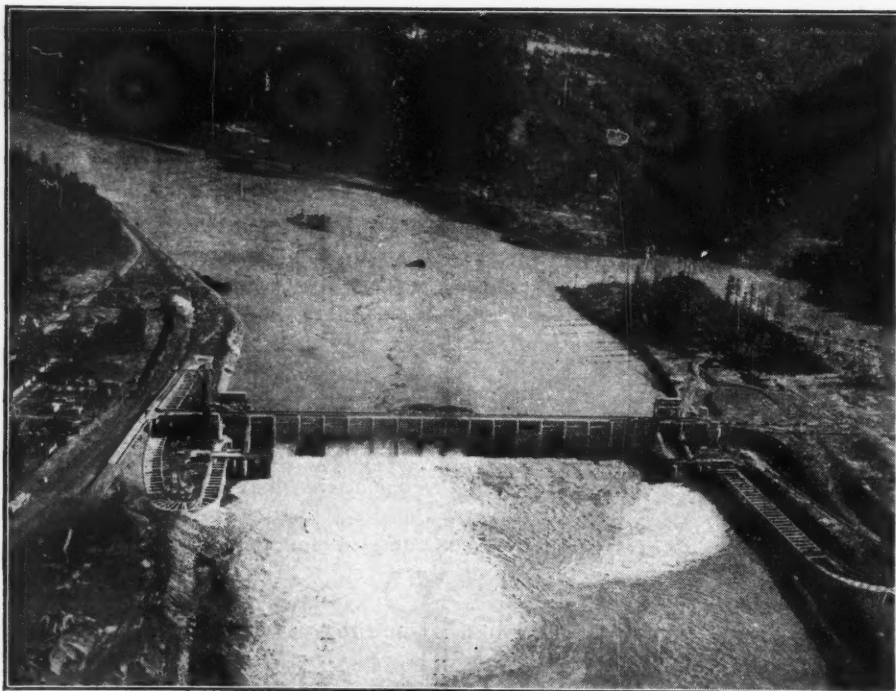
On three occasions the threat of the labor vote kept the Oregon legislature from enacting anti-union laws considerably less harsh than that now adopted at the polls. Then it was not banks and railroads which spoke for minority opinion, but rather the very groups that many years ago persuaded an outpost State to experiment with the initiative and referendum. When the anti-labor law finally was put on the ballot, it was passed overwhelmingly by an electorate angered by

rackeering within the A. F. of L. and by alien leadership within the C. I. O. in the far west.

Elmer F. Andrews, Federal Administrator of the Wages and Hours code, recently spoke of Oregon as a pioneering State in the enactment of social legislation in America. How significant it is that the industrial reforms which provoked this praise were sponsored not by the people at the polls, but by the despised legislature? Oregon is famous for its laws promoting

bia at Bonneville, and Oregon has no adequate legislative machinery for bringing the power to its people at cheap rates. The machinery was scrapped by the people themselves.

Yet at the time Oregon's citizens voted down this public power measure they were not in a reactionary mood. They had just given Mr. Roosevelt a colossal victory over President Hoover, and in a few years would give him a 2-to-1 margin over Mr. Landon.



The Bonneville dam on the Columbia River. The voters of Oregon rejected in a referendum legislation to set this project in operation.

social justice. Not one of those laws was ever adopted by popular referendum; all were enacted by the legislature, whose politically ambitious members were responsive to pressure from labor unions, women's clubs, liberal societies and other minorities.

Oregon has had the initiative and referendum for 35 years, with scarcely any progressive consequences and numerous reactionary ones. In 1932 the legislature, acquiescing in the demands of the State Grange—minority pressure again!—passed a forward-looking public power bill. It was a measure sorely needed in a State where the Columbia River contains 42 per cent of America's potential hydroelectricity. The utility companies got enough signatures to refer the bill to a popular vote. Then they financed a campaign misrepresenting the measure as a tax proposal. The bill was voted down at the polls. Now the vast \$75,000,000 Federal dam spans the Colum-

Voters can get a clear perspective on candidates, but initiative-and-referendum proposals are usually presented in masqueraded fashion. If the gamblers have a bill to permit slot machines, they call it a proposition to stimulate business. If an infinitesimal portion of the gambling "take" is to be diverted to relief, the bill is described as an aid to the needy. A law is designed to throw a mountain river wide open to commercial fishing, but the people who sign it and vote on it are told that it is a conservation measure. A sales-tax measure carries a clause throwing a few pennies to rural schools, and the bill is no longer a sales tax but an educational proposal. Allocate a handful of silver to the farm fairs in all 36 Oregon counties, and a scheme to legalize dog-racing becomes a bill to promote agriculture.

The initiative and referendum were introduced by men who wanted them

used in noble causes. These early-day reformers visioned a Promised Land in the western wilderness—a Promised Land in which the citizens were their own master. But the governmental method they championed has been wasted in a lot of fribble trumpery; for example, abolishing the Wallowa County High School, increasing the bounty on sage-rats and jack-rabbits, eliminating the desert land board, regulating the size of cattle herds in Umatilla County, giving naturopaths and chiropractors the right to prescribe medicine, specifying the salaries of officials of Clackamas County, moving the State University 41 miles farther north, providing for the maintenance of the Klamath Falls Commercial Club, reducing the charge for automobile licenses, prohibiting compulsory vaccination for smallpox, establishing a normal school in the round-up town of Pendleton.

SUCH uses as these have made the faith of many people wane. William S. U'Ren, the Oregon lawyer whom Lincoln Steffens regarded as "the father of the initiative and referendum," is not altogether satisfied with the accomplishments of the reform he did so much to bring about. U'Ren thinks of America as a nation of majority rule, but minority representation. In some respects, direct legislation has thwarted the latter.

There is little rhyme or reason to the manner in which the initiative and referendum have functioned in the commonwealth of their origin. The people have used the petition method to memorialize Congress in behalf of the Townsend Plan, but never to reinforce Oregon's woefully inadequate old-age pension structure. At the same election in 1936 that 266,733 people voted for President Roosevelt, only 131,489 voted for a measure supporting his power program. When the people endorsed the Townsend Plan to pay each old person \$200 a month, they also refused to amend the constitutional provision which limits the salary of each Oregon legislator to \$60 a year.

Exactly how do the initiative and referendum in Oregon work? Signatures of 8 per cent of the registered voters are required to place a proposal on the ballot. Signatures of 5 per cent can force a referendum on any measure passed by the legislature. Constitutional amendments and laws are treated similarly in both instances.

(Continued on page 39)

Rumania's Uneasy Seat

Stranded between Germany and Russia, Rumania views the future with considerable apprehension

By SHANDON V. HASTINGS

A FEW years ago an awe-stricken American went to call on comic King Carol of Rumania. Twice that merry monarch asked the visitor to seat himself. But the American remained standing awkwardly in the august presence of royalty. At last Carol lost patience. Said he: "If you can't understand the Queen's English, I'll talk to you in plain Yankee. Sit down, you son of a gun!"

But Carol finds that Americans are easier to deal with than are his fellow Europeans. He may sit the Americans down, but the Europeans stand him up. Faced with the looming specter of Greater Germany, he went to London last November, looking for financial and commercial concessions, and for help—if he could get it—against Hitler. Instead of concessions he got the cold shoulder, complete with icy British indifference. A week later Carol went to see Hitler at mountainous Berchtesgaden, and talked to the Fuehrer three long hours. Nobody knows exactly what was said, but probably it was none too pleasant for the royal Rumanian. Handsome Adolf evidently had the last word, and the last laugh.

Carol is in a quandary as between Germany and Russia. He and his clique certainly fear German aggression, but also—and perhaps more importantly—they dread Russian communism. If the Russians were to help Rumania, it might cost Carol his throne and the local capitalists their investments. If Hitler were to overrun the country, the Rumanian rich would be comparatively safe.

Meanwhile, Rumania is a cross between the Merry Widow and the Old Regime France of Louis VI. She is gay, and brittle, and inefficient, and carefree. Your average Rumanian is a kindly, easy-going fellow who does not care, and has no intention of making an effort. He is the diametric Latin opposite of the Slavic Bulgarian next door, who is dour, hard-working,

serious, and is nicknamed the Balkan Prussian. Rumanian versus Bulgar is a proposition similar to Parisian versus Puritan.

But today Rumania has become extremely important. She lies on the German road to the Russian Ukraine, the Black Sea, and the lower Balkans. She has the oil and wheat that German machines, and the stomachs that tend them, need. The German route to the southeast now runs down along the lengthy Czecho-Slovak corridor, straight to the Rumanian frontier. Here is Hitler's next obstacle to hurdle. Whether he will use bribery, weapons, diplomatic pressure, or propaganda remains to be seen. Rumania is on the spot—and there are few that pity her. Virtues that characterized post-war Czecho-Slovakia are conspicuously absent in the land of Carol.

As the Germanic Hammer of Thor weakened in its epic strokes on the bloody anvil of Verdun, in 1916, Rumania entered the World War. She lost the battles and made a separate peace with Germany in 1918, but at the subsequent Versailles settlement her allies pulled her through, not without contempt. As a result of the post-war negotiations she more than doubled her population and area. From that day to this she has—gaily—tottered.

All the slapped-together post-war states were extremely polyglot in composition, and Rumania is no exception to this unfortunate rule. Out of her less than 20 million population, six million are alien, and inclined to be unhappy about it. These include two million high-class Hungarians, a million Ukrainians, a million Jews, 750,000 Germans, 500,000 Bulgarians and Turks, perhaps 50,000 Gypsies and Tartars, and stormy Macedonian freebooters.

Hungarians and Germans are found mostly in Transylvania, seized from Hungary after the War. Ukrainians and Jews live largely in Bessarabia,

taken from Russia at the same time. Considerable numbers of Jews are also found in all the Rumanian cities, and the capital, Bucharest, now has a total population of close to half a million. (It is nicknamed the Balkan Paris, and tries to live up to the name.) Bulgarians dwell mostly in the Dobruja region, acquired from Bulgaria after her collapse in 1918. The Bukovina province belonged to Austria. In short, Rumania possesses what used to be Hungarian, Austrian, Russian, and Bulgarian real estate; mistreats her Jews; and fears her Germans.

This compact three-quarters of a million "Saxons of the Seven Forts" were imported during the Middle Ages as colonists to repair the damages of the Turkish invasions. Mostly they came from Alsace and Wurtemberg, in the Germanic southwest, and today they are just as German as when they came. They turned Protestant after 1517, and Nazi after 1933, so closely in touch are they with "home" currents. They get on well with their Hungarian neighbors, but dislike the Latinic Rumanians. They are neat and clean, efficient, and form a model yeomanry. They furnished the chief-of-staff to the old Austro-Hungarian army in the World War—skillful Baron Arz.

In addition to racial warfare in Rumania, there is keen religious strife. Most of the bona fide Rumanians are eastern Orthodox in creed, while the Germans are Lutheran, and the Hungarians are Calvinist, Catholic, or else Unitarian. The Jews, of course, are mainly Hebraic, and well over a million of the 14 million Orthodox brethren have a unique political accord with the Pope at Rome, while retaining their own eastern ritual and married priests. These are known as Uniates. The Rumanian government officially is very Orthodox, and has a record of persecution against minority

sects, especially Jews and Unitarians. The 150,000 Mohammedans are well enough treated. Questionable Carol is a stalwart churchman.

Rumania has double-value in the realm of higher economics: oil and wheat. Wheat comes from the Transylvanian plateau and the rich black soil of Old Rumania—the Moldavian and Wallachian provinces. Oil is found in both these districts, Ploesti in Wallachia being a special center.



The Strajers-Gardiens, Rumanian youth organization on the same lines as the Italian Ballila, hold a demonstration in the days before King Carol repressed the Fascist movement.

Rumania is the world's sixth largest oil producer, but an estimated 70 per cent of the oil output is wasted by inefficient methods. Nor is Rumania short of minerals. She has coal, iron, lead, zinc, copper, mercury, bauxite, aluminum, antimony, gold, silver, salt, and graphite.

Some 80 per cent of all the Rumanians are peasants. They own nine-tenths of the nation's farm acreage; for, unlike feudal Hungary and Poland, Rumania passed an agrarian reform act after the War which subdivided 15,000 of the vast landed estates of the noblesse. Transylvanian and Bessarabian grandes, and the Catholic church to a lesser degree, footed the bill. Thus Rumania does have one form of democracy.

The Romans called Rumania Dacia, although the present name obviously means "Roman". Dacia held four Roman legions, generally, of which the Fifth Macedonica and Thirteenth Gemina were best known. This was a garrison of 25,000 men, the veterans

settling down north of the Danube and giving the natives that Latin dialect which Rumanians speak today. It is considerably closer to Caesar than are Italian, Spanish, French, Catalan, Portuguese, or Walloon. But the Rumanian army now is by no means equal to its Roman legionary ancestors. It made an especially poor showing in the World War against the hastily gathered, composite forces of Generals Mackensen and Falken-

hayn. Little is expected of it in 1939. It numbers 300,000 men, with perhaps a million and a half trained reserves. Its generals have such weird names as Glatz, Florescu, Argesheanu, Ileserici, Aurel, Cristea, Husafi, Alecu, Tomaziu, and Pretorian. All the names ending in "u" are authentic Rumanian ones. Pretorian—none too effective a warrior—is sometimes laughingly called "the last Pretorian Guard."

Rumanian army equipment is heterogeneous, and comes (at a substantial profit) from British Vickers, Czech Skoda, German Krupp, and the French Comite des Forges. The air force is weak. Two makes of plane are manufactured in Rumania, the I.A.R. monoplane in five models and the S.E.T. biplane in five models. Both makes are equipped with various sizes of French or British motors. Rumania also has a Black Sea and Danube River navy.

Carol's fleet consists of four destroyers, all built in Italy. Also three torpedo boats, two of them having be-

longed to the erstwhile Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian navy. There are one 1929 submarine, built in Italy, and four 1918 gunboats. In addition, Carol boasts seven river monitors—"cheesebox on a raft" type—dating back to 1904. Biggest of all is His Majesty's royal yacht, *Luceafarul*, acquired by him in 1937. It was built for Her Britannic Graciousness, Lady Yule, in 1930 and was quite well known as the *Nahlin*. Now it has reached the very apex of maritime felicity.

Rumanian domestic politics are in keeping with the general Merry Widow scheme of things. The country is now a totalitarian state under a royal dictator, Herr Carol Hohenzollern. Carol has succeeded in ousting or retiring most of Rumania's leading statesmen, both liberal and anti-Semitic. Expediency has become his watchword, and he means to stick to it. He has tried, feebly, to extend additional rights to the minority races and religions. For the first six weeks of turbulent 1938, an extreme anti-Semitic cabinet under the late Octavian "Gaga" Goga held sway. It was after the Goga regime that Carol totalized Rumania.

Carol Hohenzollern II, 46-year-old cousin of the age-old Prussian royal family, is the great-grandson of stuffy, stodgy Queen Victoria. Victoria's second son, the Duke of Edinburgh, married the daughter of a Russian Emperor and fathered that dazzling Marie who was Carol's mother. Marie was very un-Victorian—an eighteenth-century Scottish Princess in an unhappy twentieth-century setting. As Dowager Queen of Rumania she died in 1938, ornamental and stagey to the bitter end. She was never on good terms with Carol, who had various legitimate grievances against her.

THE first wife to grace Carol's menage was pretty Zizi Lambrino, a young lady of good social standing who bore him a son. Carol was compelled to desert her by the Rumanian authorities. After that he married Princess Helen of Greece, who eventually divorced him for good and sufficient reasons. She, too, bore him a son, now 18. His name is Michael, Grand Voyvoda of Alba Julia. The good-looking lad gets on very well with his rampant father, although Carol prefers Pekingese while Michael likes great Danes.

Young Michael actually preceded Carol as King of Rumania. He ruled for three years back in 1927-30, suc-

ceeding his weak, bearded old grandfather, King Ferdinand. This was because reckless Carol, previously, had abdicated his right to the throne. Then, in 1930, Carol staged a putsch by airplane, ousting his son but retaining him as Crown Prince. Since that time Carol has ruled the Rumanian roost, quarrelling with his brother Nicholas the while. Nicholas, reputedly, is tough.

TOUGEST of all Rumanians, however, are the outlawed, green-shirted Nazi Iron Guardsmen, strongly opposed to Carol and not above assassination, as shown on several occasions. Their No. 1 newspaper is the *Porunca Vremii*, which imitates the ferocious *Sturmer* of Nuremberg. This *Porunca* has excelled in anti-Semitism. According to one of its Rumanian opponents:

"Millions of *lei* have been spent by the Nazis in Rumania in the last three years. They have founded hundreds of newspapers. They have supplied terrorist organizations with weapons. It is not only gold that has come from Germany, but machine-guns and hand-grenades for the terrorists. For Germany can wait no longer. She needs our petrol."

Carol's mistress, the Jewish Magda Wolff, nicknamed Lupescu, which means "wolf" in Rumanian, is especially disliked by the Iron Guard.

But Carol got the Iron Guard before the Iron Guard got his Lupescu. Late in 1938 its leader, a Pole named Carneliu Codreanu, and sixteen of his subalterns were murdered by supporters of Carol. These Guardsmen had been held in detention, and were done away with "as they attempted to escape"—an old dictatorial dodge and one used by the Nazis themselves. This summary action by the Carolians has dampened the ardor of the Iron Guard, at least for the time being. However, it is still pro-German, and opposed to Lupescu and Russia. That Carol's girl-friend is Catholic in religion makes no difference to the cantankerous racists of Rumania.

Nobody likes Rumania. Russians have never forgotten their loss of Besarabia. Hungarians still are insistent on the return of romantic Transylvania, where "Dracula" transpired. Bulgarians want back "their" Dobruja and fully intend to get it, adding significantly that Rumanian army officers always wear corsets. Germans are enraged by the murder of the Iron

Guard chieftains, and their press thunders. The new Carpatho-Ukrainian state (within Czecho-Slovakia) shows itself eager to free the Ukrainian minority in Rumania. International Zionists and liberals dislike the rough treatment of Rumanian Jews, while the international Mrs. Grundys disapprove of Carol & Lupescu, Incorporated.

Meanwhile, American Unitarians have been vocal about the Rumanian attitude toward their 75,000 co-religionists. Carol, too, is personally unpopular with the British royal family. His only friends are Prince Paul of Yugoslavia, and possibly the Poles, with whom Rumania has had an alliance since 1921. Some of the German and German-dominated Czech manufacturers, however, have a warm spot in their hearts for Rumania, for approximately 60 per cent of Rumania's imports come from Germany and

Czechy. The next best is England—with only seven per cent. Of Rumania's exports, mainly wheat and oil, Germany takes 26 per cent, to England's 14 per cent.

There is now a school of thought that believes Carol to be the Balkan Fox. It asserts that he has lost his earlier frivolity, his evident fondness for light wines and dancing, and that during the last two years he has settled down to kingship with a new seriousness. This is a matter of opinion, and possibly of wishful thinking. But whether Carol is gay or sad, bright or dull, there is very little that he can do. He is, proverbially, in a box—a knight among nations. The German war machine—the Prussian General Staff and the sage Wilhelmstrasse—has many headaches these days. It does not seem that Carol is one of them. Generals Keitel and Brauchitsch are realists.

Liberalism Backfires in Oregon

(Continued from page 36)

Sometimes the petitions are circulated by people genuinely interested in a cause, as several years ago when needy students at the State University invoked the referendum against a law that would have assessed them each \$15 a year for the school's pseudo-professional football team. But a survey conducted by Professor Waldo Schumacher of the University of Oregon has shown that most of the people circulating petitions are colossally ignorant of the proposals thus promoted. Burton J. Hendrik once referred to this part of direct legislation as "the business of getting names," and sometimes glib-tongued men and women make power companies and banks pay well for signatures. There is a law against circulating petitions for recompense, but it is a procedure that can be carried on *sub rosa* with ease.

Once sufficient signatures are obtained, the proposal goes on the ballot. To each voter the state sends a little folder known as *The Voter's Pamphlet*, containing arguments for and against all measures. These arguments are written by the groups sponsoring or opposing the proposals. Each page in the pamphlet costs \$100. It is unattractively printed, and the full text of the proposals gives it a legal and dull appearance. Dr. James Duff Barnett, head of the political

science department at the University of Oregon, is doubtful if one person in a hundred accords it even a cursory examination. The real campaign is carried on over the radio, in newspaper advertisements and via personal contacts. Here the groups with the most money have an advantage. The Associated Farmers, with their business backers, had approximately \$40,000 to promote the anti-labor law. The unions could raise only one-fourth of that amount to fight it.

The initiative and referendum were crusaded for in Oregon long ago by reformers with high hopes and lofty motives. It is clear that other reforms are necessary before those hopes can be attained. A bill to raise school-teachers' salaries to a certain amount should say just that, instead of hemming and hawing about mandatory levies and 20-mill limitations. The simplification talents of Thurman Arnold and Stuart Chase, and others who advocate straightforward economic and political language, are required to word proposals for the Oregon ballot. A law also is needed to limit the amount of money spent for or against any measure. Last but not far from least, the people must be educated to pass on laws and constitutional amendments, just as through the years they have been educated to pass on candidates.

Albania: Key to the Adriatic

Coveted by Rome and Berlin, this midget state is determined to remain unshackled

By STOYAN PRIBICHEVICH

PINCHED between Yugoslavia and Greece in the southeastern Adriatic, and facing the "heel" of Italy across the straits of Otranto, is one of the strangest lands in Europe—Albania. It is hardly larger than Vermont, with a population of one million, two-thirds of whom are Moslem and one-third Christian.

In its eight small towns Oriental life still pulsates. Nobody hurries. Aside from a few modern villas in Tirana and Durazzo, the houses seem on the brink of tumbling into the narrow, winding, cobblestone streets. With a negligible urban population, the upper class consists mainly of some thirty rich, land-owning families. The majority of Albanians are sheep and cattle-raising mountaineers who live under the traditions and discipline of their ancient tribal organization and whose old customs, going back thousands of years to common Indo-European roots, resist all attempts of King Zog at modernization.

The origin of this nation has long been a matter of dispute among ethnologists. Most probably it descends from the fierce Illyrians whom the Romans had a hard time subduing, and who later formed the best Roman legions and gave Rome one of its greatest Emperors, Diocletian.

Like North-American Indians, Albanians use a colorful, allegoric form of the heroic, epic speech. Their tribes, or clans, have proper names, but the nation as a whole has none. Thus "Albanian" is a foreign denomination. They call themselves merely "Sons of the Eagle." It is a language that suits the craggy peaks from which they survey the gray landscape below them.

Across desert hills and ravines, scorched by blazing sun or frozen under deep snow, they walk in white costumes behind herds of white sheep, wearing the famous white beret cocked over one ear. Everywhere white re-

flects the shimmering light. Unlike the Arabs, they have regular, marked features, with upper eyelids sometimes curved downwards like those of birds of prey. Tall and lean, with femininely narrow shoulders, they march with their weight on their toes, swaying from the hip, and cover with ease many miles in a day through the rough mountain country.

Some curious social usages, once supposedly common to all nations now civilized, are still found in certain regions of this primitive little Balkan country. For instance, in northern Albanian mountains family communism exists. The father is absolute dictator, the sons remaining under his jurisdiction even after marriage and their wives becoming his new subjects. All families descending from a common ancestor form a brotherhood. They own their lands in common, and their heads constitute the tribal council which elects a common chief. There are places where this council still passes verdicts in theft or adultery.

A bachelor is looked upon with disfavor there, a useless member of society. Occasionally he is married after death, before burial. Brides are still kidnaped or bought, although most often this is a ritual agreed upon in advance. American "elopements" are a vestige of this old custom. In some parts virginity is highly esteemed. In other parts women enjoy complete sexual freedom before marriage; once wedded, however, they are cruelly punished for adultery. As a cue to interested males, the costumes of unmarried women differ slightly from those of married ones. Monogamy is prevalent, even among the Moslems, perhaps because polygamy costs too much nowadays.

Albanians, like all peoples of southeastern Europe, believe in the "evil eye"; children with beautiful eyes are often spat upon as witches. Some also think that hungry vampires gnaw on

the moon; that is why the tribe of Malissores shoots at the moon during an eclipse. Albanians believed in the immortality of the soul long before the advent of Christianity and in the town of Elbassan butterflies are to the present day respected as souls of the dead. But a unique custom exists in the northern districts: when a man dies, his face is shaved, his body bathed and dressed in his best costume. Then he is placed on a chair in the middle of the courtyard, with his gun beside him and a cigarette in his mouth. Thus he receives his relatives and friends who come to say goodbye.

Like children who kill animals for fun or curiosity, these primitive mountaineers sometimes show cruelty to the stranger. In 1915, during the World War, the Serbian army—facing the combined onslaught of Austro-Hungarians, Germans, and Bulgarians—gave up Serbia and retreated through Albanian mountain passes without permission. A friend of mine, an officer in the Serbian army, sat with two Albanian scouts before a low fire on a ridge overlooking a narrow country road, sipping coffee. The step of a lone traveler was heard on the road below. The two Sons of the Eagle leaned over to look. It was an Albanian peasant. "I bet you another cup of coffee I can shoot that fellow through the head at the first try," said one. "Bet you can't," said the other. The first man shouldered his gun and fired. The man on the road grasped at the air with his arms, and curled to the ground. The Albanian scout laid down his gun and sipped his coffee once more. He had shot the stranger as he would a sparrow.

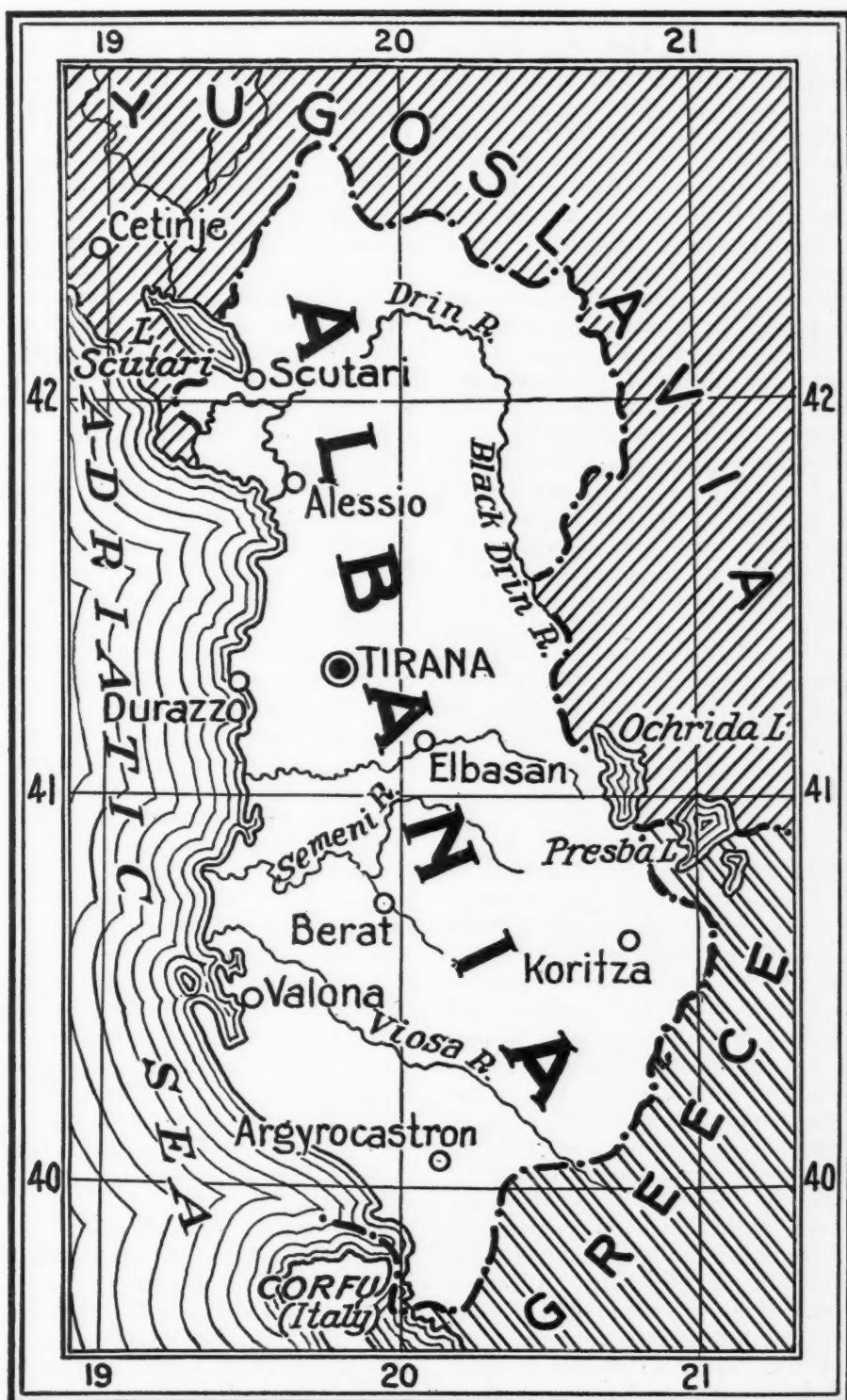
BEFORE he married the Hungarian-American Countess Geraldine Apponyi last April, King Zog had been engaged several times. No marriage ceremony had ever been performed. Asked, some years ago, by an American foreign

correspondent: "Why don't you marry?", he replied sadly: "What have I to offer a bride?" The handsomest ruler and then the only bachelor King in Europe referred to blood debts incurred during his struggle toward the throne. Zog is responsible for the deaths of many political enemies, directly or indirectly. The blood relatives of each must, according to the unwritten Albanian code of honor, avenge in kind the family loss. So King Zog "owes blood" for every man killed by him or by his own tribe of Mati. It is said that there are no less than 800 of these "blood claims."

SINCE accession to the throne ten years ago, Zog has never traveled into the rocky interior of Albania. He leaves the tiny, sun-baked city of Tirana, with its one main street, only for occasional visits to his summer palace on the Adriatic. During this short drive, even in the midst of his brightly flowering gardens there, he is protected by his devoted royal guard against some invisible sharpshooter. Only once has he gone abroad—to visit, it was rumored, an Austrian girl friend—and as he was leaving the Vienna Opera House one evening an implacable Albanian fired and almost avenged the blood of his clan. Zog never left the country again. A crowned prisoner, he has reason to suspect even the food that comes to his table. For years one of his immediate family, his late mother or one of his six sisters, has tasted each dish before he has.

Partly to modernize his country, partly to insure his own life, King Zog has tried to abolish this vicious custom of "blood revenge." Some years ago he summoned the chiefs of all clans to a meeting, urging them to drop their "blood claims" and promise each other peace. He did not succeed, for the blood feud is the most deeply rooted tradition of the Albanian mountain tribes, based on their age-long ideas of individual and tribal honor, and representing the only form of justice where pride does not bow to courts.

After a crime against life or honor, the tribal chief of the offended party gives the offender and his relatives a respite of twenty days to set their affairs in order. Then the hunt begins. Every blood relative of the victim is under obligation to take revenge on the offender or on any of his male blood relatives. Other relatives do not count. Recently, in Scutari, a man was



Current History Map

Albania, mountainous home of the "Sons of the Eagle," is a tiny window on the eastern shore of the Adriatic Sea.

toppled off his bicycle by three revolver shots. When it was learned that he was only the brother-in-law of an offender the slayer was condemned by his own clan.

Although this shedding of blood is the traditional cleanser of tarnished honor, Albanians are not averse to financial settlements. A "blood debt" can be paid in money or goods—if the offended party agrees. Then the offender, blindfolded and with a knife

hanging around his neck, is escorted by his relatives to a parley under the safe conduct of "besa," solemn pledge of peace. If there is disagreement on terms, they are given 24 hours to get out of reach. Since each killing calls for a new revenge, a vendetta often leads to mutual extermination of families. And as the settlement prices are usually high, it is the rich people who make peace while the poor ones kill each other off.

However, if you respect the Albanian's sense of honor you will not only make friends with him, but be protected by him. His simple code of ethics knows no mercy for disgrace, yet it elevates to sanctity the two fundamental social virtues: hospitality and observance of the pledged word. A guest, for instance, is a sacred person to all common folk of the Balkans; the rules of the house are suspended to accommodate his every wish. In some Balkan regions he can have any object of his host's that strikes his fancy, even—by a now extinct custom—being privileged to choose among the women of the house.

The only thing a guest must not do is to offend a female's honor. This constitutes an insult punishable by death—but not until he is no longer a guest. On the other hand, a woman's blood is of no account in the satisfaction of a vendetta. To slay an enemy's female relative in revenge would seem to an Albanian just as silly as to kill one of his sheep. King Zog, for instance, lives incarcerated in his palace, but his sisters travel freely at home and abroad.

All Albanians do not live in Albania. There is an Albanian minority in Yugoslavia along the common frontier, numbering nearly 400,000 souls, which for almost ten years after the World War troubled Yugoslav authorities. They had been peaceful until the Belgrade government decided to colonize their fertile untamed region by giving land free to any one who would live there. Swarms of Yugoslav war veterans, ruined farmers, and land-hungry peasants descended upon the wilderness to cut down the shrub, build huts and stables, and pierce the virginal soil that had never known a plough. Native Albanians watched this invasion with growing resentment. Soon they organized bands—called "kachaks," similar to those of the last-century American Indians—which attacked the new settlers, plundered, murdered, and set their houses and villages afire.

UNDER the snow-capped mountain of Shar, on the wind-swept plateau of the Blackbird's Field, carpeted with a pattern of opium poppies and scarlet "bozsur" flowers, one of my uncles settled. While he cleared his land he lived with another Serbian colonist; but as soon as he had finished his stable he moved there to sleep on the straw among his cattle. None too soon. A few weeks later his fellow settler

was found dead, his throat sawed through with a dull knife. A note above his head said: "This fate awaits all Serbs who come to steal our land."

UNCLE lived constantly on guard, but no attack was ever made against him. He began to mix with his Albanian neighbors and one day was asked to be godfather to a child in a Christian Albanian family. Some time later, because of an injustice done to this Albanian family by Yugoslav authorities, one of them "went into the woods" to join the "kachaks." And from that day my uncle's life was safe; "besa," the promise of peace, given to him as the spiritual father of the child, bound not only all relatives of the family, but any "kachak" band having one of them as a member.

Yugoslav Albanians are shepherds and tillers of the soil. But during the winter many of them go to far-off cities as construction laborers and the like. The traditional occupation of those who go to Belgrade is to saw fire-logs in the courtyards of private residences and apartment houses. In homespun white costumes, with folds of colored linen flapping around their ears from under their caps, they relentlessly wield their saws in rain or snow for from 15 to 20 cents a day. A home-made cigarette dangles always from their lips. Their food consists principally of onions. They spend their nights crowded like sardines on wooden planks, in layers, in the attics of dilapidated slum dwellings. Next spring they start off for their homes, by train and on foot, with a few precious dinar bills concealed under their shirts.

There are no more "kachaks" in Yugoslavia; their revolts were quelled with the aid of the regular army more than ten years ago. But Yugoslav Albanians have heard about Munich, and already the word is making the rounds that their territory will soon be ceded to King Zog.

For seven years after the World War, Italy and Yugoslavia contested the political and economic control of Albania, helping first one, then another faction into power. When, after a meteoric career, Achmed Beg Zogu, then the 27-year-old chief of the mountain tribe of the Mati, first became Prime Minister, he did not stay long in office. In 1924 Bishop Fan Noli organized a rebellion and overthrew him. Zogu fled to Yugoslavia. But the Yugoslav government was on Fan Noli's side, and it decided to extradite

Zogu. In avoiding arrest, Zogu hid in the Belgrade apartment of my late father, a former member of the cabinet. Soon, however, the Yugoslav government changed its mind and supplied Zogu with men and material to fight his way back to Tirana and drive Bishop Fan Noli out of the country. In 1925 Zogu was again Prime Minister, and three years later he proclaimed himself King. Behind a façade of parliamentarism he is now, at 43, the dictator of Albania.

But the Yugoslavs were wrong to expect that Zogu would establish a pro-Belgrade puppet régime in Tirana. As soon as he had regained power with Yugoslav help, he switched over to Italy, which offered more than Yugoslavia could promise. Ever since 1926 Albania has been in close alliance with Italy, practically under her protectorate. Today it is the only land in southeastern Europe where Italian influence is unchallenged by Germany.

ITALY has large financial interests in Albania. Crude oil bubbles there, a raw material that Italy needs badly; the wells of Berat are already developed by an Italian company. But the great advantage in dominating Albania is complete control of the Adriatic. Italy can blockade the entire Yugoslav littoral merely by closing the straits of Otranto. If Germany should obtain free ports on the Adriatic for the commercial development of her economic domain in Central Europe, they might be rendered useless at any time by Italy's domination of these straits. No one knows the ultimate outcome of the Rome-Berlin axis; the farther Herr Hitler progresses in Central Europe and the Balkans, the more valuable will Signor Mussolini find Albania's strategic position.

However, the Italians also may be wrong to rely too much on the King of the Sons of the Eagle. He has learned that in the diplomatic game it is preferable to give promises rather than to fulfill them. Even Mussolini has to extract from the reluctant King of Albania whatever is owed him. And every time Zog makes a concession to Italy he has to put down a revolt at home, for the Sons of the Eagle fiercely resent any foreign domination—and no nation do they despise more than Italy. The conquest of Ethiopia and the exploits of Mussolini's soldiers in Spain may have impressed the British peer, but not the Albanian mountaineer.

New Worlds for Rayon

Its eye on world leadership, America's great test-tube fabric celebrates its 50th birthday

By HOWARD STEPHENSON

RAYON, the only fiber for textiles successfully created by man, is celebrating its fiftieth birthday this year. Fittingly for a golden anniversary, the three leading American manufacturers are completing new plants costing ten million dollars each. This expansion of plant capacity will greatly increase Uncle Sam's chances of getting his share of the world trade. It may enable him to reclaim first place among rayon producers. Japan shoved him into second place in 1936; Germany pushed him back to third in 1937.

To recover his leadership, Uncle Sam will have to find new markets abroad and at home. The most likely field abroad is South America. The totalitarian countries are extremely active in the rayon field there, while the United States is far behind. But already two of South America's five plants are American-owned, and after 1940 our manufacturers will start working hard to increase their exports to the southern continent.

There are new fields at home, too, which the American rayon industry hopes to capture. Its chemists are diligently working to overcome the inelastic quality of rayon so that the gigantic women's hosiery market may be captured from silk. In laboratories they are secretly working to perfect new and superior man-made fabrics.

It is logical that in a technological age fabrics should come out of the test-tube. Silk is spewed out by a worm, wool shorn from a sheep, cotton and linen harvested from the soil. All are spun and woven in the same form in which nature had provided them. But rayon is produced by machinery, a filament of pure or modified cellulose whose base is wood pulp or cotton linters chemically treated and forced through a needle-point hole.

"Silk is only a liquid gum which has been dried," Rene de Reaumur, French naturalist, observed back in

Why has rayon not been able as yet to capture the silk stocking market?

How many plants are operating in South America, and how many of these are North-American owned?

What materials are used in making rayon?

What are rayon's three great "natural" rivals in the textile industry?

How has rayon affected the Japanese silk export market?

These questions are answered in Mr. Stephenson's article.

1742. "Could we not make silk ourselves with gums and resins?"

The challenge inspired Count Hilaire de Chardonnet, a young pupil of the great Pasteur. Assigned to study the diseases of silk worms, Chardonnet became fascinated by the worm's ability to transform his diet of white mulberry leaves into a silk cocoon. He tried to imitate the worm mechanically. He began his study of silkworms in 1878, produced his first synthetic fiber in 1884, exhibited a successful product at the Paris Exposition of 1889. Two years later Chardonnet built the world's first rayon factory at Besancon, France. It still makes rayon.

Today there are 200 rayon plants in the world, 29 of them in the United States. Only two still use the Chardonnet, or nitrocellulose, process. Three better commercial methods have been devised. Most widely used is the viscose process, invented in 1892 by two British chemists, Charles F. Cross and Edward J. Bevan. These two men also worked out the acetate process. A Frenchman, Despeisses, conceived the cuprammonium process.

All four methods start with cellulose in pulp form, usually from ground wood, sometimes from cotton linters,

the short, dark fibers that cling to cotton seeds after ginning. The pulp is treated chemically, then forced through a platinum nozzle perforated with tiny holes, called a spinneret. The material congeals as it comes through, each hole making a separate filament. Machines catch these filaments and spin them into yarn. If short fibers, called staple fibers, are desired, they are spun on a specially-designed machine and cut mechanically to desired lengths.

RAYON's rivals in the world of fibers are silk, wool and cotton. None has escaped unscathed from rayon's invasion of the field. More than half the textile mills in the United States now weave rayon, often in combination with other fibers. Three additional cotton mills start using rayon each month. Nine-tenths of our silk mills now use rayon. Woolen mills, last to yield, are mixing rayon with worsteds to obtain new color effects.

How important are the inroads of rayon into the cotton market? I put the question to an executive of a large rayon mill. He answered with a fable:

"A flea once perched in an elephant's ear, while the elephant walked across a bridge. Once on shore the flea mopped his perspiring brow. 'Whew!' he exclaimed, 'didn't we make that bridge shake, though?'"

But the flea has grown rapidly to the size of a mouse, 8 per cent of total world fiber production; and elephants are afraid of mice. In 1933 rayon represented only 4 per cent. True, cotton remains king, accounting for 82 per cent of world fiber production in 1937.

Rayon's prodigious strides have been made during years of world depression when the textile industry as a whole was groggy. Its many desirable qualities account for this. Rayon adds to fabrics smartness, beauty and style which had been associated with silk; and it costs but one-third as

Four Ways to Make Rayon

Nitrocellulose: Cellulose is steeped in nitric and sulfuric acids, then dissolved in alcohol and ether to form collodion. This goes through spinnerets into air, where alcohol and ether evaporate, leaving filaments of nitrocellulose. These are treated with sodium sulfide to form cellulose filaments, or rayon.

Viscose: Cellulose, dissolved in alkalis, goes through spinnerets into an acid bath, which neutralizes the alkalis. The regenerated cellulose hardens into filaments.

Acetate: Cellulose, dissolved in acetic and other acids, is preprecipitated in cold water as white flakes, dried, mixed with acetone, and forced through spinnerets into heated air. This evaporates the acetone, leaving filaments of cellulose acetate.

Cuprammonium: Cellulose, dissolved in copper sulfate and ammonia water, goes through spinnerets into water, then into dilute sulfuric acid. These extract the ammonia and copper, leaving filaments of cellulose.

much. But it is not a mere imitation. As a lining for men's coats, for example, it wears better than silk. Fifteen rayon dresses are worn by American women to one silk dress. Nine yards of velvet out of every ten are now rayon pile instead of silk pile; hence velvet is cheaper than it was, is worn more for clothing, used more for upholstery and draperies. Ribbons, trimmings, laces, millinery straw, bedspreads, napery—rayon has made a Cinderella of every woman who once sighed for silks and satins.

Rayon did not cross the Atlantic until three decades after its debut at the Paris Exposition. A pioneering British rayon firm, Courtaulds, Ltd., formed the American Viscose Corporation, and in 1910 opened the first manufacturing plant in the United States at Marcus Hook, Pennsylvania. Viscose retained a monopoly of the American field until 1920. Since then 17 other firms, including such giants as DuPont Rayon, Industrial Rayon, Celanese, American Enka, North American Rayon, Tubize Chatillon, Tennessee Eastman, American Bemberg and Skenandoa Rayon, have entered the lists against it. Viscose, however, remains dominant, producing one-third of our domestic supply. DuPont Rayon, its nearest competitor, turns out but one-sixth.

The 29 plants owned by these 18 firms dot the crescent-like area from Rhode Island to Ohio to Tennessee. They represent an investment that will reach 400 million dollars before the end of 1940. Fifty-seven thousand persons are on their 65-million-dollar annual payroll. Last November the American industry passed a milestone when plant operating capacity reached a million pounds a day. And the industry is still expanding; by the spring of 1940 its operating capacity will reach 400 million pounds annually.

North America's varied natural resources have eliminated many of our rayon manufacturers' problems. The industry obtains 70 per cent of the cellulose it needs from spruce and hemlock in Maine, Washington, Oregon and Canadian forests. The remaining 30 per cent comes from cotton linters, readily available from the South. When supplies of spruce and hemlock are exhausted, the industry can turn to aspen, poplar and paper birch, sugarcane waste, esparto grass, straw and corn husks. Experiments are also being made with southern pine.

With all 29 plants going full blast, they have not been able to satisfy the demands of the American market. During 1937 we imported more than 35 million pounds of rayon, principally from Japan. Most of this was staple fiber, the short-length material. This country's first staple fiber plant, a \$5,000,000 proposition, was opened by American Viscose just last November at Nitro, West Virginia. A twin factory is to be ready for operation this com-

ing June. The entire first year's output was sold before the buildings were completed.

The American industry has always cocked an attentive ear toward its ultimate customer—the woman at the retail counter. Because she shied at the name "artificial silk," the industry agreed upon "rayon" as a generic name for its product as early as 1924. Garment manufacturers now label their merchandise with the name of the particular brand of rayon it contains. The National Retail Dry Goods Association's laboratory attests fabrics made of Crown Rayon. Through advertising and trade promotion, such trademarks as Celanese, Bemberg and DuPont Rayon have come to stand for high quality in the minds of millions of women buyers.

This protection is important, for the quality of rayon, manufactured under laboratory control, can be varied at will. The essential nature of silk or wool or cotton cannot be changed, but rayon is light or dark, shiny or dull, long or short—as the technician determines.

American rayon manufacturers have done their best to overcome the principal objection to their product—it does not launder well. Rayon loses 40 to 60 per cent of its strength when wet, although it does regain it when dried. Wringing, excessive rubbing or rough handling will stretch or tear it. Ironing affects rayon in various ways, depending upon the process which was used in its manufacture.

Rayon manufacturers—and their chemists—are now looking hopefully toward an even more important world

Percentages of World Fiber Production

	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Cotton	82	80	80	80	82
Wool	13	14	13	12	10
Silk	1	1	1
Rayon	4	5	6	8	8

World fiber production (in millions of pounds)	15,643	14,423	16,128	18,411	22,449
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Percentages of World Rayon Produced by Leading Countries

	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Japan	14	19	22	24	28
Germany	10	12	13	15	19
United States	31	26	24	22	19
Italy	12	13	14	15	15
Great Britain	12	11	11	11	8
France	9	7	6	5	4
All Others	12	12	10	11	7

World production (in millions of pounds)	691	824	1079	1319	1818
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to conquer—the silk stocking. During the 1920s, while silk manufacturers were losing out to rayon in the broad woven-goods field, they were able to offset their losses by convincing Milady that she should wear silk instead of cotton hose. Full-fashioned silk stockings now represent three-fourths of the 100 million-dollar annual market for silk in the United States. And that is 60 per cent of the world's consumption.

The rayon people would have tried to capture the hosiery market long before this had there not been a perplexing shortcoming of rayon—it lacks elasticity. Ordinary rayon is much less elastic than silk; in consequence, a rayon stocking bulges at the knee and ankle after wear.

Can a rayon fiber be developed which is stronger than the present product, yet is capable of stretching without losing its shape? Each of three important American manufacturers believes that it has an answer to this challenge.

The first will come from Viscose. Their new rayon is now undergoing final tests and will be ready this spring. It is said to be 40 per cent stronger than ordinary rayon and to possess sufficient elasticity to prevent bulging.

DUPONT Rayon Company's answer is a new fabric called Nylon. Not made by any of the standard rayon-manufacturing processes, Nylon has as yet been produced only in the laboratory. DuPont is building a ten-million-dollar plant in Delaware which will put the new fabric into production within a year. Nylon at first may cost about the same as silk, but DuPont believes it will prove even more durable and attractive.

Another new synthetic fabric, said to differ from rayon, is being secretly developed by the Celanese Corporation of America. A large plant for its production is already under construction at Narrows, Virginia, though it is unlikely that this fiber will be on the market before 1940.

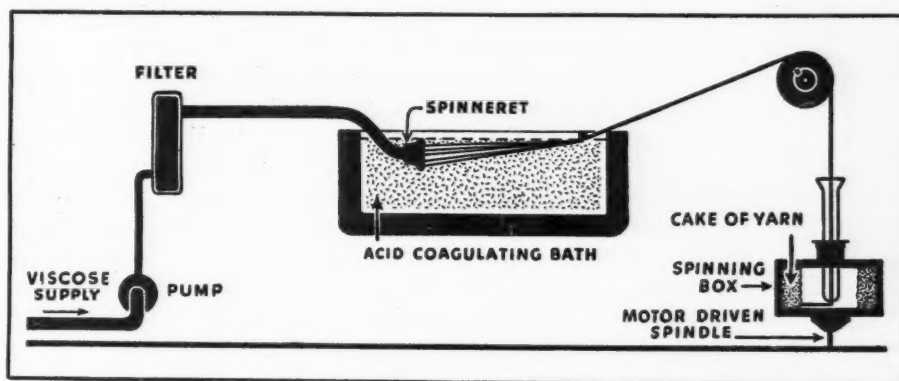
Rayon has helped the textile industry to live up to its traditional role as one of the most stalwart fighters in international warfare. The great gains which this new fabric made within a single generation were principally at the expense of silk; and thus Japan's economic life was threatened. In 1937, for example, we bought only 64 million pounds of Japan's raw silk, as compared with

the previous ten-year average of 80 million pounds. To hold even that much of the American market, Japanese merchants had gradually to drop the price from six dollars a pound to less than two dollars. As a result—and largely because of the competition of rayon, which now sells at 51 cents a pound—our raw silk imports from Japan, worth 470 million dollars in 1927, were worth only 120 million in 1937.

The clever Japanese, however, saw

South America. Every large rayon producing country exports to our neighbors on the south, the United States trailing in a field which it should logically lead.

We are forced to compete with foreign industries coddled by their governments. Japan and Germany compel their weavers to include a certain amount of staple fiber in all cloth they manufacture. Italy "suggests" that its weavers do the same thing. "This illustrates the tremendous force



This chart illustrates the viscose method of making rayon, as practiced by the American Viscose Corporation.

the handwriting on the wall and quickly turned to the production of rayon. Indeed, they have made themselves the world's largest producers. Their rayon output rose phenomenally—from 27 million pounds in 1929 to 509 million in 1937. In spite of our plant expansion, which trebled production, Japan passed us as if we were standing still. The United States consumes all the rayon that it makes—except a million pounds a year which goes to South America—but Japan sells the bulk of hers abroad.

On one score there has been an important reversal in Japan's trade situation, however. The lowly worm donated the raw materials—and much of the labor—that went into her silk exports; but Japan must purchase abroad the wood pulp, cotton linters and chemicals that go into her rayon.

After 1940 our production capacity will be such that we will be able to emphasize exportation rather than importation of rayon. South America will be our logical customer. One American concern, Tubize Rayon, moved the entire equipment of its Hopewell, Virginia, plant to Sao Paulo, Brazil, back in 1936; and United States interests own still another plant in that country. In all, there are now five rayon plants in

which government aid and support can provide for a new industry," the Textile Economic Bureau has commented. "In such countries as the United States, staple fiber rayon production and consumption are increasing the hard way—by strict competition, and by the giving of new style, wear and price values. Though showing a slower growth, the latter method is nevertheless built on the solid foundation of sound consumer acceptance." The United States protects its rayon by a tariff that ranges from 10 per cent of its value to 45 cents a pound. But in the American market rayon must stand on its own feet in competition against other fibers.

Our opportunity to dominate the rayon business of the western hemisphere lies in the inventiveness of our chemists, bent upon constant improvement of the product. Technological advances, such as ridding rayon of high luster when dull finish is desired, and strengthening the fiber to resist laundering damage, are American. The Japanese can copy our machines and our mills, but they cannot keep up with Yankee inventiveness. As Kipling's old shipbuilder said, "They copied all they could follow, but they couldn't copy my mind."

V. F. CALVERTON

Cultural Barometer

THE death of William Butler Yeats is a tragedy. Yeats was not only the greatest poet of our time but he was also one of the great writers of all time. Like Shakespeare, he will belong to all generations and to all men, for he combined within the subtle substance of his brain the contradictions and paradoxes of the ages. He could treat the oldest theme and endow it with immediate and ineluctable newness. Many people know his poetry but few know his prose. There was a wonder about everything Yeats wrote, a magic that was sidereal, eternal.

As much as I admire Yeats' poems, I esteem not less profoundly his essays, in some of which light gleams with an opalescent and iridescent splendor. In his piece on Shakespeare (*At Stratford-On-Avon*), which I read years ago, I can never forget his words: "He meditated as Solomon, not as Bentham meditated, upon blind ambitions, untoward accidents, and capricious passions, and the world was almost as empty in his eyes as it must be in the eyes of God."

In his essay on William Blake, whom he described so unforgettably as "a man crying out for a mythology, and trying to make one because he could not find one to his hand," he soars in prose as eloquently as he does in verse.

An early disciple of Pater, Yeats gave himself to beauty, the wonder of the perfect moment, and for years dwelt in the fairyland of his native country, Ireland, transforming its legends, tales, and dreams into a language inimitably magical. Few men have loved words more deeply, more possessively, more ecstatically. Like the poetry of Shakespeare, lines of Yeats live indestructibly in the memory. Those exquisite lines from *The Wanderings of Oisín*:

"Her eyes were soft as dewdrops hanging
Upon the grass-blade bending tips,
And like a sunset were her lips
A stormy sunset on doomed ships"

will be remembered as long as English poetry survives.

But Yeats did not stay with his early self for long. Soon he became less romantic, and terribly concerned with the world of things and men, and from this new dedication sprang his interest in the drama and prose. To be sure, he never lost sight of the fact that man's shortest path to the sublime is along the road to the gods. "We make our quarrel with others rhetoric," he wrote, "but the quarrel with ourselves, poetry." And it was out of the quarrel with himself that he gave birth to many of his greatest contributions to literature.

An aspect of Yeats' career which is too little remembered is that of the drama. Yeats always had a dream of being a dramatist, of translating his poetic vision into a form fitted for the stage. His *Countess Kathleen* had been written almost a decade before the Irish Theatre was born. As a dramatist, however, Yeats had many of the failings of Tennyson and Browning. *Countess Kathleen* represents much of Yeats at his best in poetry but as a play it is not effectivelyactable. His *Hour Glass*, on the other hand, had enough genuine drama to render it successful in the theatre. *Cathleen ni Houlihan* possessed similar merit.

The Land of Heart's Desire, exquisitely imaginative, is as poor drama as *Countess Kathleen*. It just doesn't act. But it is a striking poem, a beautiful dramatic poem. There is so much sheer beauty in its words that one can forgive its dramatic inadequacies. In the end, however, it is a thing to be read and not seen. This, I believe, is true of all the best things that Yeats wrote.

The Film War

More exciting these parlous days than the battle of the books is the war of the films. Its outstanding aspect is that it is a political war, not commercial or esthetic. President Roosevelt's declaration that France is

our frontier was but a continuation and extension of the war that has been going on in the offices and studios of Hollywood and in the offices and studios of the German and Italian cinema industry. Several years ago Mussolini sent his son to Hollywood to study American film technique, and it was at that time that the war began. Producers, directors, and actors snubbed the young man and refused to have traffic with him. Naturally enough, he became piqued, Mussolini himself became exasperated, and ever since then Il Duce has waged a war upon American films and finally banned most of them. This meant something of a loss to the American film industry, but when war is being waged even profits, for a time at least, are not a final determinant. And this was and still is war.

The consequences of the war have been numerous. Not only has Italy outlawed the majority of American cinemas, but Germany, as part of the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis, has followed suit. Today Berlin has declared that "the American film industry stands under predominating Jewish influence," and today there is not a single first-run theatre in Berlin which is showing an American picture. Such a condition is unprecedented. American films in earlier days have been extraordinarily popular throughout Germany and particularly in Berlin.

German boycott of American cinemas was based first upon Hollywood's reaction to the showing of the Olympics film. Hollywood was so enraged by the distorted, exaggerated, deleted production which Germany tried to foist upon the world that a multitude of actors, actresses, directors, producers, managers, and minor officials, got together and signed a declaration attacking Germany which scorched in every syllable. Germany's resentment was immediate, and it is unabated today.

Leni Riefenstahl Appears

The beautiful Leni Riefenstahl, friend of Herr Hitler, came over as a

good-will ambassador to win Hollywood for the *Fuehrer*. But her treatment was even worse than that accorded to Mussolini's son. She was not merely snubbed; she was ignored, isolated completely from the Hollywood fraternities and sororities. Appointed by Adolf Hitler to make the Olympic film, Leni Riefenstahl, after having suffered every possible type of insult by the Hollywooders, declared that she would never allow the Olympic films to be shown here because we "are opposed to Germany's political activities." If her own account of what happened to her is to be credited, the treatment accorded Mussolini's son was gentle and tender by comparison. She complained of having been shadowed by "two detectives," that studio executives prohibited her from seeing any of the stars, that she was hounded constantly, and spent the most unpleasant days of her life in Hollywood.

Since then the Hitlerian hostility toward American films has been practically a boycott.

Charlie Chaplin Bobs Up Again

Meanwhile, Charlie Chaplin carries on the war in a different field. He plans to produce a film called *The Dictator*, in which a dictator will be one of the protagonists. The Nazis have alleged that Secretary Ickes is backing the film, but the Chaplin studio denies the imputation. The picture will be made by Chaplin himself, without outside financial support. Chaplin will act a double role, appearing both as the dictator and as a prisoner in a concentration camp.

Most of the action will take place in the concentration camp, where the cruelties and horrors of punishments inflicted will be revealed in graphic and gripping style. The dictator, of course, will not be identifiable in appearance or gesture with either Hitler or Mussolini, but what he does will be identifiable with what has occurred under both regimes. The declared aim of the picture is to describe "the efforts of an oppressed people to express themselves while throttled under the heel of dictatorship."

At the same time, Warner Brothers have had difficulty in casting a film called *The Confessions of a Nazi Spy*. They found it hard to get an actor for the role of Hitler. Actors may disagree about a multitude of things, but they were agreed in Hollywood that the American public is so anti-

Hitler in spirit that an actor who tried to give a sympathetic interpretation of *der Fuehrer* might wreck his career.

The latest report is that Edward G. Robinson has agreed to play the role. Whether he does or not is still problematic. There has been far more difficulty finding a person to play Hitler on the screen than in discovering one to play that of Scarlett O'Hara.

Germany's Consul, Dr. Georg Gysling, has said that if this film were allowed to go on there "would be trouble ahead" and that Germany might bar all productions of the Warner Brothers organization — as it would, he insisted, those of any other cinema organization which filmed pictures that "conflicted with German interests."

Cinema Censorship

The battle of the censors threatens to be eternal. Langdon Post, executive committeeman of the National Board of Review of Motion Pictures, lambasted the whole concept of movie-censorship and condemned in particular that form of censorship which is dictated "by bigotry and prejudice." He called that variety of censorship far worse than any other, a "censorship by the back door," and avowed that it is far more insidious than "the more open method of legislative regulation." Louis de Rochemont, producer and publisher of *The March of Time*, asserted that it was necessary to give publicity to "some of the ridiculous things that the movie industry sets up and requires producers to abide by."

Both men claim, implicitly if not explicitly, that the reason why foreign films are better than American is that the foreign ones are uncensored whereas American films are not only censored but live in fear of censorship from their very inception. The result obviously and inevitably has been that Hollywood movies are censored by producers, directors, and managers, long before they ever reach the eyes of the censors.

In order to avoid the tragedies resulting from censorship practices and pressures, Professor Sawyer Falk, director of the Civic University Theatre and of general dramatic activities at Syracuse University, declares that he "would rather take a chance on sully-ing the great American mind rather than stultifying it." The present American film, Professor Falk states, "is so restricted that it stultifies the

imagination and intelligence of the average picture-goer." We talk about regimentation in foreign countries, he added, "but we fail to realize how much our motion pictures are regimented here in the United States."

Unfortunate as that is—and Mr. Post and Professor Falk are undoubtedly correct in their observations—it may provide some consolation to know that the situation is worse in Canada, particularly in the province of Quebec. In Montreal, for example, and over all the rest of the Province, such well-known films as *Carnival in Flanders*, *Life of Emile Zola*, *Amok*, *Peter the First*, *Professor Mamlock*, *Story of a Cheat*, and all Russian films including the Maxim series, have been banned.

In Canada, censorship—as Jean Charles Harvey, editor of *Le Jour*, insists—is exclusively political. The moral or sexual factor has little if anything to do with the situation. Hubert Desautels, chairman of the Canadian Civil Liberties Union, has described in detail the elaborate form of cinema censorship which prevails in the Province of Quebec, and why Canadians interested in French films, for instance—and French films are the best in the world today—usually have to go to New York to see them.

There are, as he stated, four different types of censors in the Province, and they function most actively in Montreal: the provincial censors (under the Attorney General), the municipal censor, the church censor, and finally the distributors' censor, who is the most severe of all. Under such a regime it is a miracle that anything challenging or significant ever appears in the Province.

In the United States censorship is decidedly different. Politics plays an infinitesimal role in the deletions and excisions demanded by our censors. Morals is their magnitudinous concern. American censors are vigilantly trying to save youth from the corruptions of vice; Canadian censors are primarily concerned with saving adults from religious and political ideas contrary to those prevailing in the Province. In both cases the result is unhappy. That French films, which suffer from no such severe surveillance, have become the best in the field is attested by the decision of the Committee on Exceptional Photoplays of the National Board of Review of Motion Pictures that the French cinema *Grand Illusion* is "the best film of the year from any country."

The best film of the year, chosen by the Committee, is *Citadel*. Compare it (a second-rate *Arrowsmith*) with *Grand Illusion*, and the superiority of the French film over the English film is patent. No American cinema of the year possesses enough merit to compare with *Grand Illusion*, or for that matter with *Ballerina*, *Generals Without Buttons*, or *Carnet de Bal*.

Goebbels Loses His Sense of Humor

Propaganda Minister Goebbels has expelled five "Aryan" actors from the Reich's Chamber of Culture, because they displayed "a lack of any positive attitude toward national socialism and therewith caused grave annoyance in public and especially to party comrades." Translated into English, they were expelled because they "cracked" witticisms about the Nazi regime, insinuating in some of them, by tragic irony, that Germany no longer possesses a sense of humor. Their mimicries also were so devastatingly suggestive that they acquired national circulation.

Goebbels denounced the actors as "brazen, impertinent, arrogant, and tactless," and declared them imitators of the Jews, especially those Jewish comedians—Chaplin, Cantor and Company—who have given to humor such an infectious hilarity.

Traveling Libraries

Few city people realize what a difficult job it is to get books to country communities. The number of libraries in rural towns, villages, and hamlets is infinitesimal. In an article entitled *From the Diary of a Traveling Library Superintendent*, we get a striking and vivid picture of what is involved in that task. "Traveling about in the less-thickly settled part of southeastern Illinois, in Nacoupin, Madison, Clinton, St. Clair, Washington, Perry and Jefferson Counties, brought home to me the fact," the diarist states, "that we are still in the pioneer stage in our efforts to reach every citizen of the state with some form of book service."

Selection of titles, this traveling librarian declares, was excellent though far from adequate. Prior to the activities of the WPA, most of these communities never had a library or any form of book service worthy of the name. WPA has opened such services on all sides. In most towns

the book stations are open every afternoon from one o'clock to six; in the larger towns they are open at night also.

To carry on this project of bringing books and increasing intelligence to the American citizenry, employment has been given to 25,000 relief workers, and their work includes every state in the Union.

Many states have had traveling library systems for years, but the WPA has made it possible for all states to possess them, even for those that had them to extend them far beyond their past proportions. New Jersey, for example, has had a traveling library system since 1899, South Carolina since 1918 (books in those days were delivered in a wagon drawn by a mule). Mississippi, commonly known as the most backward state in the nation, has acquired new life, according to WPA statistics. There are traveling libraries in every one of the state's 82 counties. In many parts of the state there are "book boats" that ply the various rivers in order to deliver books to the citizens of remote communities. The "book boat" has already become a legend as well as a reality in many parts of the South. Tall tales have grown up about it; people talk of it as if it were a magic thing, bringing mysterious gifts to them, bearing a cargo of treasures hitherto undiscovered, arriving from the shoreless lands and sealess shores of far-flung dream.

In a considerable number of communities active opposition is found to the idea of bringing books to the people. Like the rulers in certain backward communities, they feel that it is dangerous to impress the minds of the populace with "the infernal notions" secreted in books. "Tain't hardly any use," one commissioner in Georgia said, "the adults in this county don't read. Them as can won't, and the rest is too ornery to learn." It was a hard job getting books "by this stubborn commissioner, but it was done. And today there are a dozen places in that county where books are being read and where people are being taught to read.

In Kentucky, similar objections were heard. The traveling librarian was told by one farmer that he didn't want his "gal" wasting her time reading books; "there's weeds in that garden yonder, and setting in the corner with her nose in a book ain't gonna git them out." That girl today reads

good literature. Another farmer complained that when people read books you "don't get no work out of them. Leave the Bible, and things that helps canning and cooking, and no mo'."

The traveling librarian has become a fascinating figure in the land. Called by many names: "Book lady," "book carrier," "book woman," "boat-book girl," she is a new Paul Bunyan, a new addition to legend and folk-lore. She is vivid, dynamic, a carrier of strange treasures, a wizard who uses words as her wares. She travels by motor trailer, equipped with shelves, desks, and card files or with make-shift saddle pack toted on horse or mule or even on her own back. In some places log cabins have been hitched to automobiles to expedite her work. Such contrivances are called "travelogs" or "bookmobile units," by no means uncommon in the less accessible parts of the country. In some places rowboats were necessary to complete the book service.

The result is that the WPA Library Extension Program has made three million extra books available to the public, in addition to innumerable magazines. Twenty-five hundred new libraries have been established, mainly in rural communities. When we reflect upon this in terms of the intelligence of the country as a whole we realize its significance.

These book-carriers don't stop at public institutions alone; they stop at the homes of individual families and at centers where people interested in books gather and await their arrival. The arrival of the carrier is announced a week in advance, and that carrier, who is more often a woman than a man, often covers a route that is forty miles long, visiting a half a dozen centers in fulfillment of a job which is not only to distribute books but to collect them.

The reaction of adults as well as youths, when given books that stir, stimulate, and sometimes revolutionize their lives, is almost epical. What is important is that people to whom books meant nothing five years ago have learned to find in them a new vista of the universe.

If the WPA did nothing else than this it could be proud of its job. We still have illiterates but the number is small. Our job is not to eliminate illiteracy but rather to improve the literates. And in striving toward that end we have done more than any other nation in the world.

The Religious Horizon

REV. WILLIAM B. SHARP

THE World Missionary Conference which met at Tambaram, near Madras, India, from December 12 to 29, was preceded by three years of preparation. It was a most varied body, yet within a day it had settled down into a fellowship in which all found themselves friends and each learned from the widely different experiences of his neighbors. The 464 delegates were housed in cubicles of the Madras Christian College at Tambaram. Besides the delegates there were present 40 co-opted members, 20 representatives of Christian Student Movements, and 7 fraternal delegates.

Here are some aspects of the missionary work brought out by the Conference:

1. A tremendous shifting of the missionary force is taking place today from Asia toward Africa. The number of missions, native workers, native Christians, and mission stations has increased in Africa to an astonishing degree in comparison with other fields. It is here that the greatest missionary possibilities seem at present to lie, therefore the greatest missionary tasks.

2. In spite of the decline in missionary income by more than 50 per cent, missionary societies are supporting almost the same number of European workers as before, and the same number of mission stations. This shows how carefully the missions have been administered. But the main reason is the much stronger sense of responsibility of the (now for the most part independent) mission churches for their needs, and also for the missionary tasks in their sphere.

3. The increase in numbers of Christians shows how, in spite of economic depression, in spite of political unrest, in spite of endeavors on the national side to awaken religions of a specific (non-Christian) kind, and in spite of the triumphant march of European godlessness, the Kingdom of God is on the increase, and "the colors of our King are being carried from place to place and land to land."

The Greek-Orthodox Church in Poland has received a new Church statute which insures the independence of this second largest Christian community in Poland. The Metropolitan will in future be elected by the Sobor, in addition to which there is the Holy Synod, half of which is made up of the bishops and half of chosen members. An innovation is an organ of control of the financial and economic affairs of the Orthodox Church. The Greek-Orthodox army chaplain department receives a Bishop for the Services, who is also a member of the Synod. Army chaplain Szreter has been proposed for this office.

Excavations are in progress on the northwest face of the Acropolis. A large number of houses have been pulled down and recent work has brought to light the Agora, the ancient market place of Athens of the classical epoch—the religious and political center of Attica. These excavations have been made possible through a Rockefeller contribution. In the space of three years more than 300 houses have been pulled down and 80 more are to follow. Excavations cover a surface of approximately 95,000 square yards. It is hoped to disclose shortly the historical place of the Areopagus, where the Apostle Paul addressed the Athenians to convert them and thus to found the world mission of Christianity. His voice, it is said, was heard as far off as the Agora, where the work is now actually going on. Numerous relics of great value have been discovered and placed in a temporary museum.

Innumerable have been the comments on the strongly religious character of the inaugural addresses of President Roosevelt and Governor Herbert H. Lehman of New York. Equally significant, although less widely read, was a recent utterance of Walter Lippmann, an objective observer of public affairs, in which he pointed to the necessity for deeper religious foundations for democracy

and for our whole national life. Mr. Lippman's acknowledgment of the fundamental necessity and importance of religion is the more noteworthy when one recalls that, less than ten years ago, in "A Preface to Morals," he was inclined to treat historic Christianity as of slight moment. Under the significant title, "The Forgotten Foundation," Mr. Lippman said:

"What separates us from the totalitarian regimes is our belief that man does not belong to the state . . . But if we are to be clear about what that really means, we must say also what it is that man does belong to.

"There are, perhaps, many different ways of saying it. But there is no better way of saying it than to say it as the authors of our liberties were accustomed to say it. They said that man belonged to his Creator, and that since he was, therefore, an immortal soul, he possessed inalienable rights as a person which no power on earth had the right to violate.

"The decay of decency in the modern age, the rebellion against law and good faith, the treatment of human beings as things, as the mere instruments of power and ambition, is without a doubt the consequence of the decay of the belief in man as something more than an animal animated by highly conditioned reflexes and chemical reactions. For, unless man is more than that, he has no rights that anyone is bound to respect, and there are no limitations upon his conduct which he is bound to obey.

"This is the forgotten foundation of democracy in the only sense in which democracy is truly valid, and of liberty in the only sense in which it can hope to endure. The liberties we talk about defending today were established by men who took their conception of man from the great central religious tradition of Western civilization, and the liberties we inherit can almost certainly not survive the abandonment of that tradition. And so perhaps the ordeal through which mankind is passing may be necessary. For it may be the only way in which modern men can recover the faith by which free and civilized people must live."

THE GOVERNMENT

Summary of activities and work of the various Federal Government departments and agencies

Recommendations for a National Health Program

The recommendations for a national health program included in an official summary of the report by the Interdepartmental Committee, sent to Congress Jan. 23:

A. The committee recommends the expansion and strengthening of existing Federal-State cooperative health programs under the Social Security Act through more nearly adequate grants-in-aid to the States and, through the States, to the localities.

Central Public Health Services—Fundamental to an expanding program of preventive services is the strengthening and extension of organized public health services in the States and in local communities. In addition to the strengthening of public health administrative services and organizations generally, the expanded program should be directed specifically toward the eradication of tuberculosis, venereal diseases, and malaria; the control of mortality from pneumonia and from cancer; the development of more effective programs for mental hygiene and industrial hygiene, and related purposes.

In addition, the program should include special provisions for the training of skilled personnel and for studies and investigations designed to advance knowledge and skill useful in carrying out the purpose of the program.

Maternal and Child Health Services—Included in this part of the recommended program are provisions for medical and nursing care of mothers and their newborn infants; medical care of children; services for crippled children; consultation services of specialists; more adequate provisions for studies and investigations of conditions affecting the health of mothers and children.

The objective sought in this phase of the committee's recommendation is to make available to mothers and children of all income groups and in all parts of the United States the services essential for the reduction of our need-

lessly high maternal mortality rates and death rates among newborn infants, and for the prevention in childhood of diseases and conditions leading to serious disabilities in later years.

B. The committee recommends grants-in-aid to the States for the construction, enlargement and modernization of hospitals and related facilities where these are nonexistent or inadequate but needed, including the construction of health and diagnostic centers in areas, especially rural or sparsely populated, inaccessible to hospitals. The committee also recommends grants toward operating costs during the first years of such newly developed institutions to assist the States and localities in taking over responsibilities.

Our technical subcommittee finds hospital accommodations and hospital and clinic services throughout the country not altogether well adapted to the varying needs of people living under different social, economic and geographical circumstances. A long-range program is urgently needed to meet accumulated deficiencies, with special reference to the needs of rural areas and of low-income groups, and to bring about such expansion of facilities as is necessary if preventive and curative services are to approach adequacy for the nation.

We need scarcely emphasize that hospital and related facilities should be built only after careful examination has shown the need in particular communities or areas, taking account of all available facilities useful for the service of the localities.

C. The committee recommends that the Federal Government provide grants-in-aid to the States to assist them in developing programs of medical care.

A State program of medical care should take account of the needs of all persons for whom medical services are now inadequate. Attention has often been focused on those for whom local, State, or Federal governments, jointly or singly, have already accepted some degree of responsibility through the

public assistance provisions of the Social Security Act and through work relief or general relief, and upon those who, though able to purchase food, shelter and clothing, are unable to pay for necessary medical care.

The committee's studies show, however, that attention should more properly be focused on the needs of the entire population or, at least, on the needs of all low-income groups. Medical services are now inadequate among self-supporting people with small incomes as well as among needy and medically needy persons.

The committee believes that choice of the groups to be served, the scope of the services furnished and the methods used to finance the program should be made by the States, subject to conformity of State plans with standards necessary to insure effective use of the Federal grants-in-aid.

To finance the program, two sources of funds could be drawn upon by the States: (a) general taxation or special tax assessments and (b) specific insurance contributions from the potential beneficiaries of an insurance system. The committee recommends grants-in-aid to States which develop programs using either method, or a combination of the two, to implement programs of medical care.

The President's Message on Taxes

Excerpts from President Roosevelt's message to Congress on taxes on Jan. 19:

IN my message of April 25, 1938, I urged that the time had come when the Congress should exercise its constitutional power to tax income from whatever source derived. I urged that the time had come when private income should not be exempt either from Federal or State income tax simply because such private income is derived as interest from Federal, State or municipal obligations or because it is received as compensation for services rendered to the Federal, State or municipal governments.

A fair and effective progressive income tax and a huge perpetual reserve of tax-exempt bonds could not exist side by side. Those who earn their livelihood from government should bear the same tax burden as those who earn their livelihood in private employment.

The tax immunities heretofore accorded to private income derived from government securities or government employment are not inexorable requirements of the Constitution, but are the result of judicial decision.

In the light of those decisions there are, among the taxpayers of the nation, inevitable uncertainties respecting their tax liabilities. There is uncertainty whether the salaries which they receive are not taxable under the existing provisions of the revenue acts; there is uncertainty whether the interest which they receive upon the obligations of governmental instrumentalities is similarly not taxable; and there is an uncertainty whether the salaries and interest which they have received for past years will create an unanticipated source of tax liabilities and penalties.

In view of the fact that the Bureau of Internal Revenue will have no choice but to enforce our income tax law as declared in the latest decisions of the Supreme Court, prompt legislation is necessary to safeguard against the inequities to which I have referred. The need, therefore, is for the prompt enactment of equitable rules, prospective in operation, which the bureau can apply and taxpayers can observe without that mass of litigation which otherwise is to be anticipated. We are confronted with a situation which can be handled with fairness to all and with reasonable administrative convenience only through the cooperation of the Congress and the courts.

Unless the Congress passes some legislation dealing with this situation prior to March 15, I am informed by the Secretary of the Treasury that he will be obliged to collect back taxes for at least three years upon the employes of many State agencies and upon the security holders of many State corporate instrumentalities who mistakenly but in good faith believed they were tax-exempt. The assessment and collection of these taxes will doubtlessly in many cases produce great hardship.

Accordingly, I recommend legislation to correct the existing inequitable situation and at the same time to make private income from all government

salaries hereafter earned and from all government securities hereafter issued subject to the general income tax laws of the nation and of the several States.

Recommendations for New Government Expenditure Laws

The report of the Special Committee to Investigate Senatorial Campaign Expenditures and Use of Governmental Funds in 1938 included these recommendations with introductory comment on the Works Progress Administration:

I. THE committee in the course of its work has been compelled to give much of its attention to charges of undue political activity in connection with the administration and conduct of the Works Progress Administration in certain States. While many of these charges, after investigation, were not sustained, the committee nevertheless finds that there has been in several States, and in many forms, unjustifiable political activity in connection with the work of the Works Progress Administration in such States. The committee believes that funds appropriated by the Congress for the relief of those in need and distress have been in many instances diverted from these high purposes to political ends. The committee condemns this conduct and recommends to the Senate that legislation be prepared to make impossible, so far as legislation can do so, further offenses of this character.

II. The committee recommends legislation prohibiting contributions for any political purpose whatsoever by any person who is the beneficiary of Federal relief funds or who is engaged in the administration of relief laws of the Federal Government. The committee also recommends legislation prohibiting any person engaged in the administration of Federal relief laws from using his official authority or influence to coerce the political action of any person or body.

III. The committee recommends that Section 19, Title 1, of the present Work Relief Act, making it a misdemeanor for any person knowingly, by means of fraud, force, threat, intimidation, boycott, or discrimination on account of race, religion, political affiliations, or membership in a labor organization, to deprive any person of any of the benefits to which he may be entitled under the Work Relief Act, be so amended as to make such violation a felony instead of a misdemeanor.

IV. The committee recommends that all Federal relief acts should be so amended as to provide that any person who knowingly makes, furnishes, or discloses any list of persons receiving benefits under such acts or of persons engaged in the administration thereof, for delivery to a political candidate, committee, campaign manager, or employe thereof shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor.

V. The committee recommends that Section 208, Title 18, of the United States Code be so amended as to prohibit not only the soliciting and receiving of political contributions by officials, employes, and persons now named in that section, but also by any one acting in their behalf.

VI. The committee recommends that Section 211, Title 18, of the United States Code be so amended as to prohibit political contributions not only by Federal employes to any Senator or Member of or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to Congress, but also to any candidate for such offices, or to any person or committee acting with the knowledge and consent and specially in behalf of such Senator or Member of or Delegate to Congress or Resident Commissioner therein, or of any candidate for such office.

VII. The committee recommends that there should be a limitation upon contributions which individuals may make in behalf of a candidate seeking election to Federal office.

VIII. The committee recommends that Section 209, Title 18, of the United States Code relating to solicitation for political contributions in any room or building occupied in the performance of official duties by any person in the employ of the Federal Government, be so amended as to include solicitation by letter and telephone, as well as in person.

IX. The committee recommends the adoption by the Senate of a rule requiring all candidates for the Senate to file with the Secretary of the Senate, in response to appropriate questionnaires, a full and complete statement of receipts and expenditures.

X. The committee recommends that Section 313 of the Federal Corrupt Practices Act be so amended as to prohibit any contribution by any national bank, any corporation organized by authority of any law of Congress, or by any corporation engaged in interstate or foreign commerce of the United States, in connection with any primary or general election.

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On Record

Recent Addresses by Foreign Statesmen

Hitler's Speech to the German Reichstag

Excerpts from Chancellor Hitler's address to the German Reichstag on Jan. 30:

THERE are countries in the world where instead of 135 people to the square kilometer, as there are in Germany, there are only between five and eleven, where vast stretches of fertile land lie fallow, where all imaginable minerals are available. There are countries which have all this and the natural wealth of coal, iron and ore and yet are not even capable of solving their own social problems, of doing away with unemployment or overcoming their other difficulties.

And now the representatives of these States swear by the wonderful qualities of their democracy. They are quite at liberty to do so as far as they are concerned. But as long as we still had an offshoot of this democracy in Germany we had 7,000,000 unemployed; trade and industry were faced with absolute ruin in town and country, and society was on the point of revolution.

Now we have solved these problems in spite of our difficulties, and for this we have our regime and our internal organization to thank. The representatives of foreign democracies marvel that we now take the liberty of maintaining that our regime is better than the former one; above all they marvel that the German people acquiesce in the present regime and reject the former.

But, after all, does not a regime which has the support of 99 per cent of the people represent quite a different kind of democracy from the solution which in some countries is possible only with the help of extremely doubtful methods of influencing election results?

And above all, what is the meaning of this attempt to foist something onto us which—in so far as it is a question of government by the people—we already possess in a much clearer and better form?

At the most, it is a matter of indifference to us whether National

Socialism—which is our copyright, just as Fascism is the Italian one—is exported or not. We are not in the least interested in this ourselves! We see no advantage in making shipments of National Socialism as an idea, nor do we feel that we have any occasion to make war on other people because they are democrats.

The assertion that National Socialism in Germany will soon attack North or South America, Australia, China, or even the Netherlands, because different systems of government are in control in these places, is on the same plane as the statement that we intend to follow it up with an immediate occupation of the full moon. Our State and our people exist under very difficult economic conditions.

In actual fact the problem at the end of the war had become still more critical than it was before the war. Quite briefly, the problem was as follows:

How can a just and sensible share in the world's wealth be assured to all great nations? For surely no one can seriously assume that, as in the case of Germany, a mass of 80,000,000 intelligent persons can be permanently condemned as pariahs, or be forced to remain passive forever by having some ridiculous legal title, based solely on former acts of force, held up before them.

And this is true not only of Germany but of all nations in a similar position, for it is quite clear that: either the wealth of the world is divided by force, in which case this division will be corrected from time to time by force, or else the division is based on the ground of equity and therefore, also, of common sense, in which case equity and common sense must also really serve the cause of justice and ultimately of expedience.

But to assume that God has permitted some nations first to acquire a world by force and then to defend this robbery with moralizing theories is perhaps comforting and above all comfortable for the "haves," but not for the "have-nots." It is just as unimportant as it is uninteresting and lays no obligation upon them.

Nor is the problem solved by the

fact that a most important statesman simply declares with a scornful grin that there are nations which are "haves" and that the others on that account must always be "have nots." No nation is born to be a "have not," and no nation is born to be a "have."

When we defend ourselves against such agitators as Churchill, Duff Cooper, Eden or Ickes and the rest, our action is denounced as encroachment on the sacred rights of the democracies. According to the way these agitators see things, they are entitled to attack other nations and their governments, but no one is entitled to defend himself against such attacks.

I need hardly assure you that as long as the German Reich continues to be a sovereign state, no English or American politician will be able to forbid our government to reply to such attacks. And the arms that we are forging are our guarantee for all time to come that we shall remain a sovereign state—our arms and our choice of friends.

Actually the assertion that Germany is planning an attack on America could be disposed of with a mere laugh, as one would prefer to pass over in silence that incessant agitation of certain British warmongers. But we must not forget this:

Owing to the political structure of these democratic states, it is possible that a few months later these warmongers might themselves be in the government.

We, therefore, owe it to the security of the Reich to bring home to the German people in good time the truth about these men. The German nation has no feeling of hatred toward England, America or France. All it wants is peace and quiet.

I therefore consider it necessary that from now on our Propaganda Ministry and our press should always make a point of answering these attacks and, above all, bring them to the notice of the German people. The German nation must know who the men are who want to bring about a war by hook or by crook.

In view of the dangers that threaten all around us, I appreciate it as a piece of great good fortune to have found in Europe and outside it states that, in the same way as the German nation, are compelled to carry on a hard struggle to safeguard their existence. I refer to Italy and Japan.

In the Western World of today the

Italians, as the descendants of the ancient Romans, and we Germans, as the descendants of the Germanic peoples of those times, are the oldest peoples—and our relations with each other reach farther back than do those between any other nations.

National Socialist Germany and Fascist Italy are strong enough to safeguard peace against every one, and to end resolutely and successfully any conflict that irresponsible elements lightly start.

This does not mean that we desire war, as is asserted in the irresponsible press day by day. It simply means that we take this stand because, first, we understand that other nations, too, desire to assure themselves of their share of the world's riches due them by virtue of their number, their courage and their worth; and that, second, in recognition of these rights, we are determined to give common support to common interests.

Our relations with the United States are suffering from a campaign of defamation carried on to serve obvious political and financial interests, which, under the pretense that Germany threatens American independence, is endeavoring to mobilize the hatred of an entire continent against the European states that are nationally governed.

Germany wishes to live in peace and on friendly terms with all countries, including America. Germany refrains from any intervention in American affairs and likewise decisively repudiates any American intervention in German affairs.

Chamberlain's Birmingham Speech

Excerpts from Prime Minister Chamberlain's address to the Birmingham Jewelers Association on Jan. 28:

For myself, looking back [at Munich], I see nothing to regret nor any reason to suppose that another course would have been preferable. War today is so terrible in its effects on those who take part in it, no matter what the ultimate outcome may be, it brings so much loss and suffering even to those who stand aside and watch the combat from the ring, that it ought never to be allowed to begin unless every practicable and honorable step has been taken to prevent it.

I go further and say that the preservation of peace last September was only made possible by the events

which preceded it, by the exchange of letters between myself and Signor Mussolini in the summer of 1937 and by the conclusion of the Anglo-Italian agreement in February of last year.

Without the improvement in the relations of this country and Italy, I could never have obtained Signor Mussolini's cooperation last September, and without his cooperation I do not believe peace could have been saved.

Quite recently, as you know, the Foreign Secretary and I paid a visit to Rome, and for that too we have been criticized by those who seem determined to obstruct and resist every attempt to improve international relations.

We did not go to Rome to make bargains but to get to know Italian statesmen better, to ascertain by personal discussion what was their point of view and to make sure that they understood ourselves.

We accomplished all that, and although there was complete frankness of speech on both sides, although we did not convert or attempt to convert one another to our point of view on any subject on which we might differ, yet I can say we came away better friends than we were when we went there.

And something more than that came out of it. From the moment we entered upon Italian soil till the moment we left it we were the objects of the most remarkable, spontaneous and universal demonstration of welcome that I have ever witnessed.

It was a demonstration which it seemed to me signified two things. In the first place it brought out the genuine friendliness of the Italian people for the people of this country.

In the second place, it demonstrated as clearly as possible the intense and passionate desire of the Italian people for peace—a desire which is matched by an equal feeling in this country.

That feeling is not confined to the peoples of Britain and Italy. You find exactly the same thing in France. You find it again in Germany and you find it, I believe, in every country of the world.

I do not exclude the possibility that these feelings of the peoples may not always be shared by their governments, and I recognize, of course, that it is with governments and not peoples that we have to deal. Nevertheless, let us cultivate the friendship of the

peoples, and that can be done by individuals and by traders as well as by more official representatives.

Let us make it clear to them that we do not regard them as potential foes, but rather as human beings like ourselves with whom we are always prepared to talk on terms of equality, with an open mind to hear their point of view and to satisfy, so far as we can, any reasonable aspirations that they cherish and which do not conflict with the general rights of others to liberty and justice.

We cannot forget that though it takes at least two to make a peace, one can make a war. And until we have come to clear understandings in which all political tension is swept away we must put ourselves in a position to defend ourselves against attack, whether upon our land, our people or the principles of freedom with which our existence as a democracy is bound up and which to us seem to enshrine the highest attributes of human life and spirit.

It is for this purpose, for the purpose of defense and not of attack, that we are pursuing the task of rearmament with unrelenting vigor and with the full approval of the country.

It has taken us a long time, so low had our defenses fallen in the vain hope that others would follow our example, to get going the machinery that had run down. But progress now is being made more rapidly every day in all directions.

Further progress has also been made in working out the plans for evacuation from our large, congested cities.

Peace could only be endangered by such a challenge as was envisaged by the President of the United States in his New Year message—by a demand to dominate the world by force. That would be a demand which, as the President indicated and I myself have plainly declared already, the democracies must inevitably resist.

But I cannot believe that any such challenge is intended, for the consequences of war for the peoples on either side would be so grave that no government which has their interests at heart would lightly embark upon them. Moreover, I remain convinced that there are no differences between nations, however serious, that cannot be solved without recourse to war by consultation and negotiation as was laid down in the declaration signed by Herr Hitler and myself in Munich.

THEY SAY

Translations and Quotations from the Press of the World

South Africa's Mystery Statesman

WHO IS Oswald Pirow, the irrepressible Minister of Defense of the Union of South Africa whose tour of the capitals of Europe last November gave rise to so much speculation about the future of the ex-German colonies in Africa? For it is not many months since Mr. Pirow startled the world by a speech in which he used the following words:

"The ruling class of Great Britain agrees with me that there can be no permanent base for arriving at a peaceful agreement with Germany other than compensating the Germans for the loss of their colonies. This compensation can only be in Africa. I can state that the authorities agree with me that the cooperation of Germany in Africa is of vital importance in maintaining the domination of the white race on the African continent."

This declaration was the culmination of a campaign conducted by Mr. Pirow. It followed another recent statement to the effect that: "I shall look forward with pleasure to the return of the Germans to Africa, since the Nazis are the only ones who know how to treat natives."

Oswald Pirow started his career as one of the leaders of the Republican Party of the Transvaal. In 1929 he was the youngest member of the Cabinet in the Government of General Hertzog. Later, he was appointed Minister of Railways and Harbors, and in this post he fully demonstrated his ability as an organizer. At that time the finances of the State railways and harbors were in a wretched condition. Pirow reorganized the system and ended by converting the almost traditional deficit into a surplus.

He expected and got promotion. Pirow became Minister of National Defense.

An excellent orator and political strategist, he is today one of the outstanding personalities in South Africa. He knows the value of publicity. He pilots his own airplane and drives

his own car. Once, hearing that a demonstration of natives was to be staged in Durban, he flew there, put himself at the head of the police and led the attack to disperse the natives with tear-bombs. When the public tired of hearing of this feat, of the lions he had killed and of his other exploits, his interests turned to international politics. Pirow tried to justify the statements quoted above by declaring that all he meant was that it was just and proper for the Powers who had territory in Africa to return part of it to Germany. It was inferred he was speaking specifically of Angola and of the Cameroons.

At present, Pirow is more reserved in his pro-German sympathies, and devotes most of his energies to the improvement of South African defense. Coupled with his friendly attitude to the Wilhelmstrasse, this had led to the question: "What does Pirow really want?" A distinguished South African ex-Minister has given the reply: "The answer is simple. Our Minister of National Defense is very ambitious, and his greatest desire is to become Prime Minister. So he is riding two horses at the same time. In order to gain the votes of the Boers, he emphasizes the demands of Germany and the theory of the Black Peril. But in order to gain British votes and to give proof of his loyalty to England, he is urging the organization of national defense and the creation of a South African war industry."

Whatever the ambitions of Pirow may be, he has contributed materially to the defense of the Union. He improved the Iseor Works, which could be the foundation of a gigantic metallurgic industry so big that many South Africans believe the foundries of this region may soon become the center of the British armaments industry.

—Edmond Demaitre in *El Nacional*, Mexico City

The Libido Will Out

In the United States they sell a lipstick called the *Lady*. They also sell one called the *Hussy*. The *Hussy* outsells the *Lady* five-to-one.

—*Shelf Appeal*, London.

Japan's "Spiritual Mobbers"

The Ginza is the Piccadilly Circus of Tokio, although the main reason for so calling it has now disappeared. Those brilliant neon signs of all colors, sizes and meanings, which make people say of Piccadilly Circus: 'Ah, this is London!' had become an even more dazzling feature of Tokio's one main pleasure street.

But now they are no more. Tokio has again become one endless succession of dull, characterless, and dimly lighted streets. The first question a visitor might ask as he wrenches his ankle on some unrevealed irregularity in the pavement is: 'Is Tokio expecting an air-raid?'

And when he is informed that air raids are strictly limited to Chinese cities he will almost certainly wonder whether, under the stress of war conditions, Tokio is not trying to economize on its electricity supply. But he will be wrong there, too.

Undoubtedly Japan has been brought under a very strict system of economic control and restriction. But the abolition of the neon signs and many other similar things have practically no relation whatever to any normal economizing. Electricity is one of the very easiest and cheapest things possible to produce in this country.

No, the reason for making dim and dark our daily lives here is that we on the 'home front' may reproduce as near as possible the dim and dark and dreadful conditions the soldiers on the battlefield must undergo. This is called spiritual mobilization, or spiritual 'mobbing,' as I prefer to abbreviate it.

The spiritual mobbers have formed a very strong society here, and since they have made the Rising Sun flag their symbol and the so-called Japanese Spirit their basis, the authorities are very hard put to it to oppose even their most hare-brained schemes.

Up to a point this spiritual mobbing represents something fundamental in the Japanese people—a strong sense of community that makes them desire to smile when others smile

and to be sad when others are sad. To ask them to sacrifice this or that luxury, to give up this or that pleasant habit, in order to show their sympathy with the soldiers at the front makes a great appeal to them.

But our spiritual mobbers carry this quite natural feeling to the most ridiculous extremes and to further certain one-eyed ends.

For one thing they sometimes seriously jeopardize the Government's efforts to achieve real economies. One of the major economic problems here is how to achieve some sort of an international trade balance without creating too many unemployed. For instance, the original drastic limitation of raw cotton and wool imports has inevitably created considerable unemployment in the textile industries generally.

On top of this come along our hot-headed spiritual mobbers, demanding that the people shall erect no new houses, wear no new clothes, go to no entertainments, abandon permanent waves and neckties, and so on through the whole gamut of human comforts, diversions, and even necessities, regardless of the large number of people who will be thrown out of employment.

But they reached the limit of their ingenuity the other day when they almost succeeded in getting the Government to forbid air conditioning in public buildings such as department-stores, offices, picture-houses and restaurants.

One restaurant proprietor pointed out that without air conditioning his excellent little basement restaurant would have to close down, and that the trifling expenditure of only 25 sen daily meant keeping about 50 people at work.

But our spiritual mobbers had got another string to their bow. Their chief argument was actually in favor of hot air. They said our soldiers at the front were sweltering in 110 and 120 degrees, and so ought we. And that argument nearly carried the day. Scarcely a perspiring official liked to suggest that he wanted to keep a cooler head than the brave boys at the front!

But the most significant feature of the spiritual mobbers' activities is that the comforts, luxuries, pleasures and entertainment they attack are all more or less of a Western character. It is now practically a criminal offence in Japan to go to a dance-hall or form a dancing club or dancing class, while even foreigners (including diplomats) are forbidden to give any dances.

The reason for this antagonism is that our spiritually-minded hot-heads hold that it is utterly impossible for a young fellow and girl to dance together without getting "all hetted up" with disastrous moral consequences.

They care nothing, or next to nothing, for what would normally pass as morality. They are merely anti-Western, even more bigoted than many an ignorant Chinese Boxer with his anti-foreignism.

—"Foreign Resident of Tokio" in *Northern Dispatch*, Darlington, England.

The Vanishing English Country Estate

Britain's great landed estates are slowly disappearing. One more of them, Clumber, once the centre of a vast domain, began to fall beneath wreckers' picks a few weeks ago. By 1988, perhaps, the last of these vast tracts of land ruled over by dukes and earls will have vanished.

These vast estates are like little principalities, with their armies of workers, their villages, their woods, their quarries and their farms. The estate usually has its fifty or a hundred farms with their families and workmen, its three or four villages, with their two or three hundred inhabitants each. The lord has care of the spiritual as well as the material well-being of these people, for he probably has the nomination of the parsons of his villages.

Consider the features of such a principality and how it is run. First, his lordship's woods, tended by many a keeper and forester, may extend over 3,000 acres or more. They are the only part of the estate, except the park, and perhaps the home-farm, which he actually looks after himself.

Then come his farms. These may be compared to factories which a landowner puts up and which tenants work in return for a rent. If an owner has an estate of 20,000 acres of agricultural land, he will have, perhaps, a hundred farmers as his tenants. If it is fair land it will fetch about \$3.75 an acre, which will give him a rent-roll of \$75,000 a year.

But in the past ten years Britain has gone through the biggest agricultural crisis she has ever had. It has been impossible for the farmers to pay the rents. Rather than lose good tenants, a landowner has delved deep into his own pocket. He has cut the rent by 30 or even 50 per cent. The owner of a great estate sees his farmers but rarely. The man who deals with them mostly is the agent. The agent on a big estate is a most important person. He has his offices, his chief clerk and half a dozen other clerks. He supervises the woodlands, sees to rents, finds new tenants to replace old, sells the wood, attends to the drainage, makes up the income-tax forms, keeps the roads in good order and sees to all repairs.

A big estate is, to a large extent, self-dependent, even as it was in centuries gone by. It lives on its own



"The Protector"

Berlin Illustrierte Nachtausgabe

vegetables, and repairs are often done with timber from its own woods. Its roads are made with granite from its own quarries. New buildings are made with bricks from the lord's own brick-fields. The domestic washing of the great house is done in its own laundry, and Blenheim and Arundel, to name only two, have their own water-works. The estate may have its own sawmills, its own gasworks, even its own battery of the Royal Artillery.

Now consider the expenses of running a mansion. The minimum staff necessary to run a great house is probably something like this: butler, four footmen, housekeeper, cook or chef, six housemaids, three kitchenmaids, two still-room maids, four laundry maids, odd jobs man, two chauffeurs, one or two electricians, lady's maid, valet, two dairy maids and two dairy men (for the home-farm).

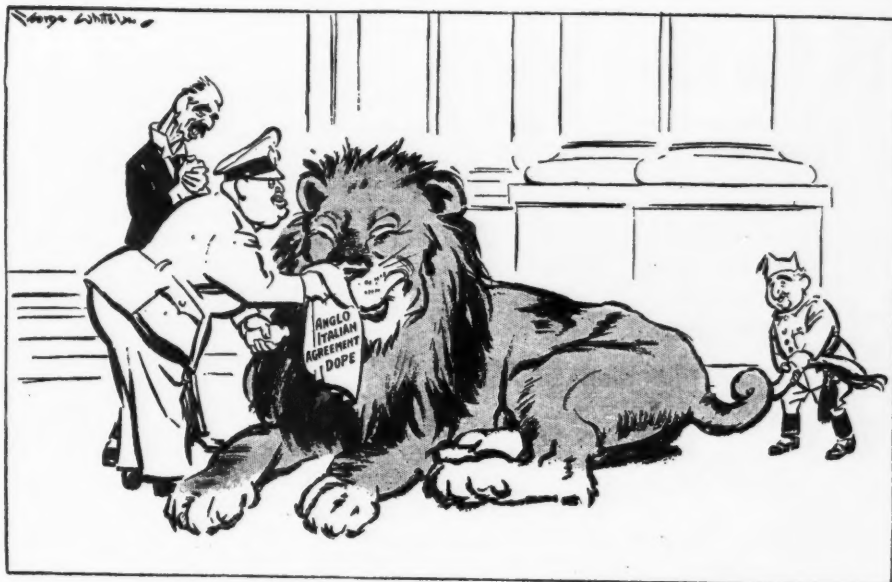
Altogether some thirty or more people. Their wages, even at \$250 a year each, would be \$7,500.

Now, a wealthy man may have to pay away over half his income in tax. Therefore, to get upkeep money of \$28,500 he will have to earmark \$55,000 or more of his income. And the estate produces \$2,500.

Add to all this the fact that a landowner has to pay double the death duties of a business man. The business magnate can get 6 per cent on his capital to the landowner's 3 per cent. If they both have an income of \$30,000, the business man will pay death duties on \$500,000. The landowner will have to pay death duties on \$1,000,000 and sell off some of his lands to do it.

So do you wonder that Clumber is pulled down? The surprising thing is that any of the great houses still stand. Yet the Duke of Devonshire is still at Chatsworth, though the famous greenhouse was demolished in 1920. It covered an acre; a carriage and four could, and did, go along the drive that ran down the middle.

But the duke still has his great hall 60 feet long, his sculpture gallery 160 feet long, his row of beer-barrels with the Ducal arms emblazoned above each bung, his grand cascade and Emperor Fountain, his paintings by Van Dyck, Tintoretto, Murillo, Kneller, and Titian. The Duke of Norfolk is still at Arundel and goes out occasionally in his state coach with powdered footmen. The Duke of Marlborough is still at Blenheim, though his little province of farms lost \$500,000 in the post-War slump.



Daily Herald, London

"Give It Another Twist, Franco. He Won't Feel It Now"

There are still, then, a few of the great country houses of England left, though not one of them could keep going for a year without help from coal revenues, town property, etc. Certainly not one of them in all Britain is a paying proposition today.

—C. A. Lyon in Sunday Express, London.

The Truth About the "People's Car"

"A social accomplishment of the first magnitude—a fitting climax to the endeavors of the Labor Front's Strength-Through-Joy organization!" So, recently, Dr. Robert Ley, leader of the German Labor Front, characterized the new German *Volkswagen* ("People's Car") plan, the grandiose scheme which is to provide every German worker with a very fine car at a minimum of expense.

Leaving out the flourishes, the plan offers the "People's Car," priced at 990 marks (about \$350) on the installment system of weekly payments of only 5 marks (about \$1.75). Subscription offices are to be opened in all the headquarters of the Labor Front. In large industrial plants specially appointed agents among the workers are to receive subscriptions. A widespread sales campaign is already under way. Acquisition of a car is described as at once a wise and patriotic act; by implication, failure to subscribe demonstrates folly and lack of patriotism.

There is no exemption, regardless of how low one's income may be. Those

who earn \$15 a week or more are to take up individual subscriptions. Those who earn less are to join with their fellows in group subscriptions.

"It is Hitler's will," explained Dr. Ley, "that within a few years no less than six million *Volkswagen* will be on the German roads. In ten years' time there will be no working person in Germany who does not own a 'People's Car.' The entire Party press is running riot with superlatives. A new era of traffic is about to dawn—a new standard of living unfolds, the fulfillment of 'The German Dream.'"

The simple truth is naturally nowhere to be found in the German press. Yet it is obvious to the most casual economist that one of the world's greatest campaigns of fraud is under way. The far-famed *Volkswagen* factory cannot possibly produce these promised millions of cars in the near future; nor will the vast majority of the subscribers be able to take possession of their purchases. They may be able to pay the weekly instalments of \$1.75 out of their meagre incomes, but certainly not the upkeep, which will come to several times this amount.

The entire transaction does not aim at the actual delivery of a car, but rather at directing a part of labor's income into the coffers of the Labor Front. Moreover, the savings contracts sponsored by Dr. Ley have been characterized as legally worthless and morally unethical by judicial authorities outside the Reich.

An examination of the contract form shows that the contractual obligations of the purchaser are precisely formulated and unusually stringent; the obli-

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gations of the seller, on the other hand, are trifling and vague.

The first remarkable thing about this leaflet is that, in contrast to customary forms of contracts the world over, it fails to mention any price. This is no mere accident. The price, of course, is uniformly given throughout the entire press as 990 marks. No other price is ever mentioned. Dr. Ley even declared: "The weekly installments of five marks include insurance."

Any layman would be led to understand this to mean that the price of 990 marks included both the purchase price of the car and the insurance premium. This does not agree with clause three of the leaflet, which specifically states that the "cost of such insurance is to be charged against the purchaser." The *Frankfurter Zeitung* gave the cost of insurance as 200 marks (about \$70) for the first two years. Thus the car actually costs not 990 marks, but 1,190 marks. At weekly installments of five marks, payment is completed not in four but only in almost five years.

This, however, is the least vicious feature of the contract. Much more serious is the stipulation that the purchaser, from the moment of his signature, is absolutely bound to the contract and its weekly payment of five marks. The plant is not bound to any delivery rate. Its only concession in clause five is an order number to be issued after production starts. Since, according to Dr. Ley, "the first *Volkswagen* are expected to roll off the assembly line toward the end of 1939," the subscriber cannot hope to find out the approximate delivery date before early in 1940.

Should he receive a high order number—even should delivery be due in 1950 or 1970 or the year 2000—he would have no legal recourse nor could he cancel the contract. He would have to continue his weekly installments of 5 marks. Even when he has completed his payments he would have to leave his money in the care of the Labor Front, earning not a penny in interest.

The savings book cannot be sold or put up as collateral security, since, according to clause one, "the rights are not transferable." Even should the Labor Front deign to release the purchaser from this crushing contract—and remember, it is under no obligation to do so—it is entitled to 20 per cent of all payments made in addition to the interest it has earned.



De Groene Amsterdammer, Amsterdam

A Difficult Toast
Chamberlain: "Now, Gentlemen, Heaps of Good Will"

Nevertheless, if Dr. Ley's "savings plan" meets with even moderate success, the vast majority of these subscriptions must inevitably end in cancellation. Most of the compulsory subscribers will be unable to take possession of the car, since they will be unable to pay for its upkeep. The Nazi press is studiously silent on this point, except for Dr. Ley's vague promises that "of course, we shall attempt to find rational solutions to the problems of garaging, repair shops and replacement parts."

One does, however, learn that the *Volkswagen* is to travel approximately 27 miles to a gallon of petrol. Even moderate use should bring the monthly consumption to over 25 gallons, costing more than 40 marks. Add to this about 10 marks a month insurance from the third year on; garage rental, which comes to 20-30 marks a month in large cities; the expense of tires, oil, repairs, parts, etc. In short, even with the most careful and moderate use, it will cost at least 75 marks a month to operate the car—a figure which may easily rise to 125 marks with greater use and less care. Even the better-off employees in Germany cannot afford that sum.

There is no doubt of the substantial "saving" involved in drawing several hundred million marks annually from the pockets of the workers. Such a "saving" may well be worth the cost of building a factory—a factory undeniably of strategic value in war time and an asset in times of peace.

This is the true meaning of the *Volkswagen* plant in Fallersleben.

—JOACHIM HANIEL in *Neues Tagebuch*, German emigre weekly, Paris.

CHRONOLOGY

Highlights of Current History, Jan. 11—Feb. 7

THE NATION

Foreign Relations

- JAN. 13—Germany, in a note, goes a considerable distance toward meeting the United States' demands on the rights of American citizens in Germany.
- JAN. 21—Ex-Governor Landon declares, in a speech, that there is a great peril to the democracies in the economic war being waged by the totalitarian states.
- JAN. 27—President Roosevelt permits France to buy war planes in this country, and asks Congress to hasten our own purchases.
- JAN. 28—General Craig testifies before a Senate committee about the French mission to buy planes from us.
- JAN. 31—President Roosevelt tells Senate committeemen of his purpose to help democracies arm. It is reported that he says "our border is the Rhine."
- FEB. 1—Ex-President Hoover asserts that President Roosevelt is expanding our foreign policy dangerously. He urges Congress to demand an explanation from the President.
- The German press attacks President Roosevelt for his aid to the democracies.
- FEB. 2—President Roosevelt is called a "frustrated autocrat" and "peace enemy No. 1" by the German press.
- FEB. 3—President Roosevelt brands as a lie the report that he said that the Rhine is our frontier. He denies that there has been any change in our foreign policy. Some Senators insist that he made the statement, however.
- Ambassador Phillips protests to the Fascist government about slurs on President Roosevelt appearing in the Italian press.
- FEB. 6—President Cardenas of Mexico takes his oil land policy under advisement, following President Roosevelt's talks with Francisco Castillo Najera, Mexican Ambassador to the United States.

Defense

- JAN. 12—President Roosevelt, in a message to Congress, asks a \$552,000,000 defense program, \$321,000,000 of it for aircraft.
- JAN. 14—The navy's plan for the fortification of Guam stirs rising debate in the capital.
- JAN. 17—Assistant Secretary of War Johnson declares that the air industry can make 7,000 war planes a year.
- JAN. 19—House of Representatives is told that the army's key to defense is the protection of our coasts from air invasion.
- JAN. 20—President Roosevelt approves the navy's plan for Guam, but says that it does not necessarily mean full fortification.
- FEB. 1—Secrecy on the Administration's defense program stirs angry debate in the Senate.
- FEB. 2—Further Dies alien investigation is approved by a House committee. Grant of \$100,000 is provided.

- FEB. 3—House votes to extend the Dies sedition inquiry for one year. The vote is 344 to 35.

Labor

- JAN. 15—Commissioner Andrews reports to Congress that the wages and hours act has increased employment.
- JAN. 16—President Roosevelt, in a message to Congress, asks the extension of the Social Security Act to the aged and to children.
- JAN. 20—Homer Martin, auto union president, suspends 15 foes. They vote to impeach him.
- JAN. 22—Fist fights disrupt a meeting of an automotive workers' union local in Detroit.
- JAN. 24—CIO repudiates Martin and recognizes Thomas as the UAW head.
- JAN. 25—Martin attacks John L. Lewis as a "betrayed," and resigns from the executive board of the CIO.
- Senator Walsh asks the Senate to amend the Wagner Act following the AFofL recommendations.
- JAN. 29—William Green, on eve of the AFofL council meeting, declares that gains have been made toward an AFofL-CIO peace.
- FEB. 3—Textile Workers Union quits the CIO to rejoin the AFofL.

Relief

- JAN. 11—Secretary Hopkins, appearing before a Senate committee, concedes that he made an error in making political speeches while he was the WPA chief.
- JAN. 13—House of Representatives passes a bill calling for \$725,000,000 for relief until June 30, instead of President Roosevelt's bill for \$875,000,000.
- JAN. 16—Federal Judge Dickinson holds that "peaceful picketing" is a myth in upholding an employer's contract with employees.
- JAN. 20—Senate subcommittee votes 8 to 1 for the House cut on relief, but limits the number of dismissals before April 1.
- JAN. 21—Senate appropriations committee backs the House relief bill by a 17 to 7 vote.
- JAN. 27—Senate upholds the House relief cut by a vote of 47 to 46. A ban on politics in relief administration is incorporated.
- FEB. 2—House adopts a conference report which sends the \$725,000,000 relief bill to President Roosevelt.
- FEB. 7—President Roosevelt, after having signed Congress' relief bill, requests that the \$150,000,000 cut be restored to meet an "emergency."

Law

- JAN. 19—Attorney General Murphy acts to speed action on all government suits. He calls for a list of all cases pending more than two years.
- JAN. 29—New York District Attorney Dewey says that Federal Circuit Judge Manton received \$400,000 from litigants. He sends his data to a House committee.

- JAN. 30—Judge Manton resigns, denying that business deals had any connection with his conduct on the bench.

- FEB. 1—President Roosevelt orders an inquiry into the "influencing" of Federal judges.

Senate Judiciary Committee rejects President Roosevelt's nomination of Floyd H. Roberts to the Virginia Federal bench. Roberts was opposed by Senators Glass and Byrd of Virginia.

- FEB. 4—Federal Circuit Judge Edwin S. Thomas is ordered back from a cruise to appear before the grand jury inquiring into the Manton case.

- FEB. 6—Roberts nomination is rejected by the Senate, 72 to 9.

Supreme Court grants Mayor Hague of Jersey City a hearing, and stays a CIO injunction pending arguments on Feb. 27.

- FEB. 7—President Roosevelt terms the Senate vote on Roberts a usurpation of his powers. He criticizes Senator Glass.

Business

- JAN. 13—Secretary Hull urges an inquiry into the activity of the tariff lobbyists. He denies that an agreement has been made with Cuba to lower the duty on sugar.
- JAN. 20—Monopoly hearing is told of a "plastic" airplane body that can be made twenty times faster than others.
- JAN. 23—Senate confirms Harry Hopkins as Secretary of Commerce after an acrid debate. The vote is 58 to 27.
- FEB. 7—Rail experts attack President Roosevelt's nomination of Thomas R. Amlie to the I.C.C. Mayor LaGuardia of New York supports him in a letter to the Senate committee.

Power, Flood Control, Canals

- JAN. 12—Vermont legislature, supporting the stand of Governor Aiken, appeals to Congress against the Federal flood control project for that State.
- JAN. 13—Six New England governors uphold Vermont's stand and demand that the consent of the States be obtained on the flood projects.
- JAN. 14—President Roosevelt withdraws the proposal for a Vermont flood control project.
- JAN. 17—President Roosevelt proposes the revival of work on the Florida canal and on the Passamaquoddy project.
- JAN. 30—Supreme Court, in a 5-to-2 decision, rules that private utilities have no suit against the TVA.
- FEB. 2—Ex-President Hoover charges that there is waste in the New Deal's fight on its latest "political demon," the power industry.
- FEB. 4—TVA agrees to buy the Commonwealth and Southern power properties in Tennessee for \$80,000,000.

Treasury

- JAN. 15—Senator Byrd of Virginia, in a letter to Federal Reserve Chairman Eccles, assails the Federal Government's spending as a repudiation of Government pledges.
- JAN. 19—President Roosevelt asks Congress to ban tax-exempt securities and halt the levy on public employees' back pay.

International

- JAN. 11—Prime Minister Chamberlain on a trip to visit Premier Mussolini, is warmly greeted by the Roman populace.
- JAN. 12—Chamberlain-Mussolini talks end without result. The British emphasize that no deals have been concluded.
- JAN. 14—Great Britain, in a strong note to Japan, says that she will not tolerate the closing of the Open Door in China.
- JAN. 15—British and French Foreign Ministers, at Geneva, discuss a plan to appease Italy in Africa.
- Britain, in a note to Japan, reveals a united western front against the idea of a "new order" in China.
- JAN. 16—Administrative committee of the World Jewish Congress rejects Germany's plan to "ransom" Jews.
- JAN. 17—Mexico hurriedly sends an envoy to Germany on a secret mission.
- JAN. 22—Yugoslavia is moving toward the Italian end of the Rome-Berlin axis as a result of Regent Prince Paul's conversations in Rome, just concluded, it is reported.
- JAN. 26—France rejects Japan's nominee for an envoy. A political snub is seen in the unusual action.
- JAN. 27—Eighteen British leaders appeal to Germany to join in a "supreme effort" to keep the peace.
- JAN. 28—Prime Minister Chamberlain warns that an attempt by the totalitarian states to dominate by force will unite the democracies.
- JAN. 30—Chancellor Hitler, in a speech before the Reichstag, declares that colonies are Germany's next objective. He demands "riches" for Germany, Italy and Japan.
- JAN. 31—Chamberlain, in a Commons speech, says that a willingness to limit arms must precede any general international settlement.
- FEB. 3—Britain again warns Germany that she must prove her peaceful intentions before a general settlement.
- FEB. 4—Russians have been battling the Japanese continuously for four days on the northwest frontier, the Japanese press reports.
- FEB. 5—Mexican workers parade for Batista, with the union "militia" appearing in uniform.
- FEB. 6—Immediate assistance to France in "any threat to her vital interests" is promised by Prime Minister Chamberlain.
- FEB. 7—Parley on Palestine opens in London. The Arabs are divided.

Spanish Civil War

- JAN. 11—Rebels claim the capture of Montblanch, but it is denied by the Loyalists. The Loyalists report that the Seville-Burgos railroad has been shelled.
- JAN. 12—Rebels take Falset in a drive for the coast. Barcelona calls up 200,000 men.
- JAN. 13—Loyalists abandon Tortosa salient as the Rebels press on toward Tarragona. A new attack is made in the Madrid zone.
- JAN. 14—Rebels penetrate Barcelona Province to within 40 miles of the capital.
- JAN. 15—Tarragona falls to the Rebels without fighting. The Loyalists withdraw to a new line.

- JAN. 16—Rebels make more gains. Loyalists open a drive in the Granada zone.
- JAN. 17—Rebels' drive slows down as the Loyalist resistance stiffens, but they advance toward Igualada.
- JAN. 18—Great Britain and France reaffirm their policy of non-intervention in the war.
- JAN. 19—Rebels report gains averaging six miles all along the Catalan front.
- JAN. 21—Rebels capture two more key towns. Loyalists are falling back on Barcelona, which is raising new defenses.
- JAN. 22—Rebel drive nears Barcelona on two fronts. The Rebels are now 15 miles from the capital.
- JAN. 23—Barcelona is placed under martial law. Rebels are now 12 miles from the city.
- JAN. 24—Rebels take an airport on the outskirts of Barcelona, and shell and bomb the city proper.
- JAN. 25—Rebels isolate Barcelona and demand surrender of the city.
- JAN. 26—Rebels take Barcelona without a fight as the defenders withdraw.
- JAN. 27—Rebels sweep on, taking Badalona and Sabelle. Barcelona is hungry as food trucks are delayed.
- Figueras is made the capital of Loyalist Spain. The war will go on, Premier Negrin declares.
- JAN. 28—Loyalists are unable to rally forces as the Rebels press on. Regime is reported losing its grip, and panic is rising.

Ten thousand panic-stricken refugees cross the French border. France rushes troops to the border to control the migration.

- JAN. 30—France closes its Spanish border. Thousands are turned back.
- FEB. 1—France seeks an armistice in Catalonia as the Rebel troops push the Loyalists toward the frontier.
- FEB. 4—Loyalists ask Great Britain to act as mediator to end the war, it is reported.
- FEB. 5—France opens her border to the fleeing Loyalist army. President Azana is on his way to Paris.
- Rebel forces advance on the whole front. Two hundred thousand Loyalists are retreating toward France.
- Italian troops will not leave Spain until the regime of General Franco is secure, Gayda, prominent journalist, declares in his newspaper.
- FEB. 6—Loyalists modify their terms in peace talks at the border. General Franco bars concessions to them.
- One hundred thirty thousand refugees cross the border into France. The Loyalist army is orderly as it leaves Spain.
- FEB. 7—Loyalists say that the war will go on. A battle rages south of Figueras.

Sino-Japanese War

- JAN. 12—Peiping-Tientsin Railway is cut by Chinese guerrillas in a swift night raid.

Australia

- JAN. 14—Thirty-one persons dead, hundreds are homeless as fire sweeps 1,000 square miles.

Belgium

- FEB. 2—Premier Spaak is beaten by war veterans protesting the appointment to

the Academy of Medicine of a man convicted of wartime treason.

Canada

- JAN. 12—Lord Tweedsmuir, opening Parliament, asks for the strengthening of Canada's defense. He stresses the importance of aviation.
- JAN. 27—Prime Minister King reveals that a special investigation of Nazi activities is under way.

Chile

- JAN. 25—At least 30,000 persons are killed in 20 cities wracked by an earthquake.
- JAN. 28—Storm, the danger of epidemic and the threat of a volcanic eruption bring new misery.
- JAN. 30—Fresh earthquakes terrify stricken areas. U. S. Army planes arrive with serums.
- FEB. 4—Government's 2,500,000,000-peso plan for reconstruction causes a bitter political division.

France

- JAN. 28—Finance Minister Reynaud says that the nation has gold enough to purchase 5,000 airplanes abroad if they are needed.

Germany

- JAN. 19—Refugee plan talks begin to make progress as Dr. Schacht drops his aim to "ransom" the Jews.
- JAN. 20—Chancellor Hitler removes Dr. Schacht as the head of the Reichsbank and suspends the refugee negotiations.
- JAN. 21—Chancellor Hitler orders all German males over 17 to receive military training under the Storm Troops.
- JAN. 22—Government destroys the old officer caste and makes the German army a political adjunct of the regime.

Great Britain

- JAN. 16—Bomb explosions rock several cities. They are laid to the Irish Republican Army.
- JAN. 18—Twenty persons are seized as bombers. The London Irish colony is combed for arms.
- JAN. 26—Sir Samuel Hoare, British Home Secretary, tells a mass meeting that Great Britain is invincible.
- JAN. 27—Admiral Chatfield, who built up the navy, is named Great Britain's defense chief.
- JAN. 31—A war-compensation scheme, whereby the State will cover personal and property losses, is set up.
- FEB. 4—More bombing plans are seized, it is reported.

Hungary

- FEB. 4—Martial law is imposed to curb political violence.

Italy

- JAN. 24—Men are recalled to the colors as a deterrent to French aid to the Loyalists in the Spanish Civil War.

Rumania

- JAN. 25—Government lays to Fascists a plot to destroy public buildings in Bucharest with flame-throwers.

Yugoslavia

- FEB. 5—A new Cabinet is formed by seven Serbs, two Croats, two Slovenes, two Mohammedans.

Travel...

Don't Miss The Swiss

IN the year of grace 1291, three little mountain cantons called Schwyz, Uri, and Unterwalden joined together for mutual protection. Their historic pact was drawn up on a democratic basis. From that time to this, Switzerland has been a democratic island among the seething despotisms of Central Europe. She has maintained her free traditions, and has extended them to all the world, so that international refugees, the Red Cross, the League of Nations, and dozens of other "benevolent" organizations find shelter within Switzerland's hospitable confines.

Humane Switzerland has always been strong for "betterment" movements. Is not the very Swiss flag the Red Cross emblem in reverse colors? Geneva, stamping ground of old John Calvin, purest of the Puritans, was known as the Cradle of the Reformation. Its Cathedral is still an historic landmark. And Geneva also is the center for most of Switzerland's non-Swiss activities. It is always full of foreign students, delegates, observers, and uplifters, people eager to puff the free air of Switzerland out over the entire world.

Switzerland herself is a miniature league of nations, with her 22 cantons,

all completely self-governing, and her four recognized official languages: German, French, Italian, and Romansch. Romansch is exceptionally close to the Latin, and has found an age-old refuge among the isolated alpine peaks and valleys. The language groups among the Swiss dwell together in perfect harmony, and give a living exhibition of how, for instance, France, Germany, and Italy should cooperate in the larger world beyond the Swiss border. Foreign visitors have been known to observe that French, German, and Italian Swiss are "nicer"—friendlier and more liberal—than French French, German Germans, and Italian Italians just over the frontiers.

This little alpine republic of 4 million natives is about the size of Maryland plus Delaware. And, for the tourist, it has everything: lakes, mountains, chalets, sports, fine hotels, cuckoo clocks, steins, chamois, scenery, friendliness. Everything is neat and clean, picturesque and tidy. There are the internationalists of Geneva, and the famous banking activities of Basel, and the sacred wooden and flesh-and-blood bears of Bern, and the blue waters of Lake Lucerne, and the modern industrial features of Zurich.



"Switzerland has everything: lakes, mountains, chalets, sports, fine hotels, cuckoo clocks, steins, chamois, scenery, friendliness."

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If you like to ski or hike, coast or go boating, paint landscapes or learn languages, try Switzerland. Flirt at St. Moritz, or visit the kindly monks of St. Bernard and their famous dogs, beloved by every reading child in America.

The coeducational schools of Switzerland are outstanding, and Lausanne is a noted center for American youth. It seems that Swiss French often is better than that of France, and that Switzerland is the perfect place to perfect the dulcet tongue of Voltaire and Rousseau, both of whom were Swiss as they were also French. Sagacious Voltaire made lovely Ferney the most famed retreat in Europe, as today the great Paderewski, though a Pole, is "Swiss".

Climb up to the Murren plateau on the funicular—it is beyond beautiful Interlaken—and view the Jungfrau or the Eiger, wreathed in their eternal snows. Go inside a glacier at Grindelwald, a veritable palace of glistening ice like something out of Grimm's Fairy Tales. See the hillbilly Swiss cavalry, on pretty little brown horses, gathering for the early fall maneuvers. Drink in the saga of William Tell, and his prowess with the cross-bow, remembering that today Swiss mountaineers are equally skillful with their modern "precision" rifles.

One can go to the Swiss Paradise from Paris, Genoa, or Hamburg-Bremen without much time or trouble. If there is war, Switzerland will be a haven of peace. It will continue to minister to the afflicted and the disinherited. Swiss cowbells have a delightful, merry, nostalgic sound as they tinkle up and down the bright hillsides. See Switzerland first.

--R. S.

The dictum that "there never was a beautiful prison" has been repeated so many times that a good many people believe that it is true. To the new Turkey, bustling and progressive, must go the credit for giving the lie to that old saying. Barely three years old, Turkey's famous prison, a little island named Imrali, in the Sea of Marmora, is said to be a veritable Eden. A tract of green hills covered with flowers, it is jail to 750 men. But life on Imrali is so idyllic that only two wardens are necessary to keep things in order. Most of the prisoners are serving time for crimes committed because of love. They are paid about 25¢ a day for the farming and work

on roads which they do. It is the prison's object to restore its inmates to society as useful and peaceful citizens.

No resident or visitor to Paris need hunt very long for any bit of information, since it is as near as a telephone. In the French capital you need remember only four numbers to get promptly the answer to any question under the sun. If it's the time of day you want, you need only dial "Odeon 84-00" for the talking clock. For the latest news you may dial "INF," the number of the talking newspaper, any time from ten in the morning until after midnight. The number "S. V. P." (which stands for "S'il vous plait," or "please") has long attempted to answer any question that may be asked of it. And if you are a visitor to the city, and you wish information on the cost of tickets, train schedules, special festivals and other data, the number you should call is "Laborde 92-00."

Our own Rocky Mountains are more impressive than the European Alps. We have that on the word of nineteen Netherlanders, members of a travel group sponsored by the *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant*, a Rotterdam newspaper. They made this pronouncement after they had taken a drive over the Trail Ridge Road in Rocky Mountain National Park early last Fall. The visitors declared that they had had no idea such rugged mountain panoramas as they saw existed in America.

Thousands of Americans will visit Havana this winter to imbibe the old-world charm and the night-life excitement of the Cuban capital. But any traveler who is anxious to become acquainted with the real Havana must make up his mind to desert the beaten tourist track long enough to sample Cuban cuisine as it is served in good native restaurants.

Other staple dishes, which are always served with as typically Cuban a flavor as the rhumba, are the various local fish, and the popular "arroz con pollo" (rice with chicken) or "arroz con carne" (rice with meat.) Red snapper ("pargo"), served with a sauce meuniere or as a steak ("rueda de pargo"), is always excellent, for its flavor is sharpened by a slice of lime which nearly always accompanies fish dishes in Cuba.

America at Armageddon

(Continued from page 25)

and that administration will make possible, the opportunity for a fully democratic society of wide range is only just coming into existence.

Democracy at its shabby third-best better than Fascism at its proudest. The cruelties, the repressions, and the injustices committed in the United States today, though far from negligible, are still nothing compared to the efficient assault that Fascism has made on the very principles of civilization. In one case, the evils are accidental; in the case of Fascism, they are essential—part of the very structure of the state itself.

Whatever the muddy defects of the American scheme, we still preserve in it and outlines the traditions of a free people. Every American honors these traditions and knows that they give shape to his character. They are a source of his personal strength. Who fails to recognize this has already lost the most precious attribute of his citizenship. But the true American feels this in no jingo spirit, although the sea is infamously caricatured and betrayed by jingoes. He knows that what is best in his own democracy he shares with men of good will in all other countries. There is nothing that we want for ourselves that we do not want, ultimately, for the rest of the world. We are a choosing people, not chosen people.

Is this American heritage worth keeping—worth fighting for? I do not ask that question. This appeal is not addressed to the cynical and the indifferent, nor to those who do not believe in our American past, nor to those who do not believe in civilization. The latter, whether they profess or not, are already in the Fascist camp. I appeal only to those who, though they are deeply imbued with the American tradition, still shrink from undertaking the active part of every generation: that of reexamining our usable past, revaluating it, and retranslating it into fresh purposes and worthy deeds. The presence of Fascism in the world has given us a special incentive to discover whatever is, by contrast, most excellent in our own heritage. And let us acknowledge no small debt to the Fascists. They have kindled our passion for democracy. By their wanton exhibitions of barbarism, they have restored our respect for all the processes of civilization.

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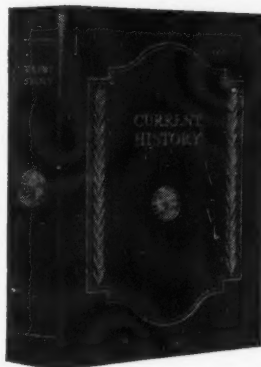
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Books

(Continued from page 7)

the brutal inhumanity of the land today. Her book ends on a note of alarm. Like other American girls who came to intellectual maturity in Germany, she has come home with an acute dread of Fascism. She finds the Fascist forces she watched in Germany at work in every part of the world. *Through Embassy Eyes* is thoroughly warm and human. R.W.

WHAT happened after Appomattox and the surrender of Robert E. Lee? Quite a good deal, and one vital phase of it was the escape of a number of members of the Confederate cabinet. It is a romantic and little known story. Its title: *Flight into Oblivion*.

A. J. Hanna of Rollins College, Florida, has handled the theme with life, color, and careful research. He tells how pig-headed President Jeff Davis got as far as Key West, and there became so tired of flight that he gave up the game and went to jail for two years in Fortress Monroe. Judah P. Benjamin, Secretary of State, on the other hand, escaped. He was the cherubic genius of the Confederate government, the Dr. Schacht of his time and place, and after incredible adventures he became the No. 1 barrister of London.

Half a million in specie cash went with the aristocratic refugees. It was all the Confederacy had left. George Trenholm, the Charleston banker, absconded with hampers full of peach brandy. John Breckinridge, War Secretary, turned into a buccaneer protom, and fought and scuffled his wild way to Cuba where admirers gave him an ovation. R.S.

FOR quick and authoritative military reference, Roger Shaw's *175 Battles* is handy and informative. It covers conflicts ranging from Marathon and Cleopatra's fight at Actium down through Crecy and Waterloo, to the Hindenburg Line, the war in Ethiopia, and the civil marathon in 1939 Spain.

All of the old pot-boilers are included, like Cannae, Gettysburg or the Marne, but also a host of little-known battles: Adrianople, "the first day of the Middle Ages"; Rocroi, where the great Spanish empire withered; Margarten, the first stand of modern democracy; Lissa, the initial fleet action of ironclads; the classic at Cowpens.

The Government

(Continued from page 50)

The President's Message on Defense

Excerpts from President Roosevelt's message to Congress on defense, dated Jan. 12:

CAREFUL examination of the most imperative present needs leads me to recommend the appropriation at this session of the Congress, with as great speed as possible, of approximately \$525,000,000, of which sum approximately \$210,000,000 would be actually spent from the Treasury before the end of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1940.

The survey indicates that of this sum approximately \$450,000,000 should be allocated for new needs of the army, \$65,000,000 for new needs of the navy, and \$10,000,000 for training of civilian air pilots.

It is proposed that \$300,000,000 be appropriated for the purchase of several types of airplanes for the army. This should provide a minimum increase of 3,000 planes, but it is hoped that orders placed on such a large scale will materially reduce the unit cost and actually provide many more planes.

Military aviation is increasing today at an unprecedented and alarming rate. Increased range, increased speed, increased capacity of airplanes abroad have changed our requirements for defensive aviation. The additional planes recommended will considerably strengthen the air defenses of the Continental United States, Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico and the Canal Zone. If an appropriation bill can be quickly enacted, I suggest that \$50,000,000 of the \$300,000,000 for airplanes be made immediately available in order to correct the present lag in aircraft production due to idle plants.

Of the balance of approximately \$150,000,000 requested for the army, I suggest an appropriation of \$110,000,000 to provide "critical items" of equipment which would be needed immediately in time of emergency, and which cannot be obtained from any source within the time and quantity desired—material such as anti-aircraft artillery, semi-automatic rifles, anti-tank guns, tanks, light and heavy artillery, ammunition and gas masks. Such purchases would go far to equip existing units of the regular army and the National Guard.

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